



Lafayette

FROM A STATUE BY BADIER.

RECOLLECTIONS
OF THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

By M. JULES CLOQUET, M.D.

EMBELLISHED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS
AS IN THE ORIGINAL PARIS EDITION.



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DU
PROF. JULES CLOQUET



TO THE READER.

A FEW days after the death of General Lafayette, I received the following letter from an American, Mr. I. Townsend, of Albany.

“ PARIS, May 28, 1834.

“ SIR,

“ IT has been your lot to fulfill one of the holiest of duties in the eyes of the Americans. The friendship of a great man, and his well-merited confidence in your talents and your intelligence, have procured you the sad distinction of being present at the death-bed of one whom we so lately were proud to name the first of our fellow-citizens, and have enabled you to alleviate, by every means which art can suggest to affection, the sufferings which Lafayette must have endured from a fatal malady. You have been permitted to soothe the last moments of our General, to listen to his last accents, to receive his last sigh! Now that the mournful stupor into which his death has plunged all who can lament departed virtue, and appreciate the extent of such a calamity to the world at large, is be-

ginning to yield to a sorrow more accessible to consolation, a stranger who has no other claim upon your attention than that of being a native of a country in which your illustrious friend was idolized, implores you, Sir, to record for him, and for his fellow citizens, the last scene of that glorious existence of which you have been a witness, and which possesses in their eyes a degree of interest so intense!

“ I need not assure you that the motive of my request is no idle or vulgar curiosity: you will do me the justice to ascribe it to a feeling worthy of the ties that bound us to our virtuous fellow-citizen and benefactor. When the decree of Providence deprives a family of a beloved father, after the first moments of stupor and affliction, filial piety may well seek to know all the circumstances which preceded the fatal event;—may well linger on them with a feeling of mournful affection, —thus yielding to an illusion which blunts the sense of sorrow, and resuscitates for a moment the cherished object of its worship.

“ This consolation, Sir, you will not deny us; we ask it on behalf of ourselves and of our brethren—in the name of an entire country which, even at this moment, is proud to call Lafayette the last of her fathers—for at this moment that country knows not the loss which she has sustained, and which will too soon spread desolation and mourning amongst her children. That nation, our friends, our relatives, all who favour us with their in-

dulgence, or honour us with their confidence, will turn to us in their affliction, and inquire from us the details of their misfortune. They will say to us—‘ Our aged and noble friend breathed his last amongst you; you know all, leave us not in ignorance whether nature spared him the sufferings from which his life merited exemption—whether his pure and beneficent spirit departed without anguish to join that of the friend and father of his youth—whether he preserved to the last that pure and lofty intelligence which was long our guide and our idol! Above all, inform us if, whilst suffering the painful transition from life to immortality, his confidence in our fidelity and our attachment was unshaken. Was he allowed at his last solemn hour to cast a parting look upon the great family of America—to bestow on us a last benediction and farewell!—on us who loved him so much!—on us, whom the recollection of his virtues, and the hope of his approbation, so often intoxicated with enthusiasm; on us who are now reduced to the sad necessity of paying a fruitless tribute to his memory!’ You, Sir, can enable us to reply to our countrymen; and you will not, I trust, compel us to turn a deaf ear to their legitimate appeal.

“ I feel, Sir, that I have already trespassed too long upon your attention, but you will doubtless pardon me when you reflect how difficult it must be for one of my nation to avoid enlarging upon such a subject. I conclude, then, by repeating my entreaty, that you will

be kind enough to employ such leisure moments as you can spare from your important occupations, in collecting your reminiscences, which must be still fresh, on the private life and last moments of our Lafayette; and that you will permit me to transmit them to my family, and to the governor of my State, to whom I shall be happy to offer so striking a proof of my friendship.

“Accept, Sir, the assurance of the high respect which, in common with other foreigners, I entertain for your abilities, and the expression of the deep and lasting gratitude that, as an American, I feel for your attention to our great citizen, during that fatal malady which has torn him from the admiration and the affection both of America and France.

“ISAIAH TOWNSEND.”

I should have found some difficulty in refusing to accede to the just and affecting demand of one who could so well appreciate Lafayette's virtues, and who thus addressed me in the name of his fellow-citizens. It was my first intention to write to him but one letter, but as I reflected on my answer, such a superabundance of ideas presented themselves to my mind, that I was really at a loss to make a selection of my materials. As the vacation of the faculty was approaching, I resolved to profit by the leisure moments that would thus be left to me, to compose a series of letters, which I

addressed in succession to Mr. Townsend. In compliance with his request, I authorized him to communicate them to his countrymen: he had the patience to translate them, and his version, which is more correct than the original, was published in one of the New York journals, the "Evening Star." The letters found their way back to France, after receiving, as it were, the rite of baptism in America, the country of Lafayette's adoption. Several persons who read them in Paris spoke to me about them, and Messrs. Galignani proposed to me to publish them, under the impression that they would prove interesting to our countrymen. I have only to hope that the idea may be correct.

I knew not exactly what resolution to adopt: I felt but little disposed to publish letters which had been so hastily written, and which, when committed to paper, I had scarcely had time to read. Most of them had been composed at night, after the fatigues of the day, and I really doubted if they were worthy the honour of appearing in print. In this state of uncertainty, I consulted some of my friends, on whose judgment and advice I could rely upon such an occasion. Some of them urged me to publish without delay, as in their opinion my materials ought not to be lost to the historian, and, above all, to the individuals who had been acquainted with Lafayette. Others, who were not of that opinion, observed to me that I was about to undertake a task out of my own line; that I was more accustomed to

handle the lancet than the pen, and that the public, who are sometimes difficult, might feel no relish, even for good materials, if not appropriately arranged. I was thus again reduced to a state of perplexity and hesitation. I could entertain no doubt of the interest felt by my friends in my welfare, or of the sincerity with which they had given their opinions, and yet they were far from being unanimous on the subject under consideration. What was to be done? My letters were finished; they had been favourably received by the Americans; they might be copied from their journals, reprinted, and perhaps retranslated from the English version, with the addition of new faults. The last reason decided me: I consented to their publication, and I moreover promised the publishers to revise and correct the original manuscript.

In adopting the resolution of publishing my letters, I was supported and encouraged by the reflection that I was actuated not by the ambition of writing a good book, but by the desire of doing a good action, and of paying a slight tribute of gratitude to the memory of the illustrious individual who had honoured me with his confidence and esteem. The latter motive will, I trust, give me a claim to the indulgence of my countrymen, to whom I submit my Work. I had, besides, heard so many falsities or inaccuracies stated with regard to Lafayette; experience had so thoroughly convinced me that those who formed an erroneous judgment of him

were not acquainted with his character,—a circumstance which is not surprising, when we reflect that mankind in general speak with the greatest readiness on the subjects with which they are the least acquainted,—that I considered it almost a duty to represent Lafayette simply as he was, in order to refute or to undeceive his detractors or his opponents.

The hateful and interested passions which pursue a great man during his career, are generally buried with him in the grave; and since Lafayette's decease, his countrymen are beginning to do him justice, and to acknowledge his lofty virtues and the immense influence which he exercised upon the civilization and the liberties of France, and of the whole world. In these letters I have as much as possible avoided every subject more especially connected with the politics of the present day; the public portion of Lafayette's life belonging to history, and having already occupied the attention of other writers. If I have spoken of some of Lafayette's opinions,—if I have developed and commented on some of his ideas, I have done so with the reserve that becomes my position. Far be it from me to apply those opinions or ideas to any individual, especially when they may have been calculated to cause a painful or even a disagreeable feeling: I have endeavoured to use without abusing our precious, our inestimable liberty of thinking and writing,—a liberty the prudent use of

which is no less advantageous than its abuse is prejudicial to the welfare of society.

It has been my purpose to display Lafayette in his private life,—to depict him at least as I have seen him. It will be observed, I think, that he owed every thing to his good natural disposition, to the purity of his feelings, and to the development of his exalted intelligence; that he never acted a part, inasmuch as he always displayed himself in public as he appeared in the bosom of his family; his private life having been really the counterpart of his political career. The quotations which I have made from his writings, some of his hitherto unpublished letters, which I now submit to my readers, and the materials which I have collected from his correspondence with his friend Masclet, form the most important portion of my Work.

Notwithstanding the changes, transpositions, corrections, additions, or suppressions which I have made in my original manuscript, the reader may still find much confusion in my arrangement of the subjects of which I have treated; he may also observe a number of breaks and omissions, and probably many involuntary errors or inaccuracies of style. Perhaps, also, he may complain of the introduction of too many medical discussions, and he may, with some justice, apply to me the reproach addressed to M. Josse; he may likewise think that in several of my episodes I have lost sight

of my principal subject. But I must repeat that my letters were, in the first instance, composed almost confidentially; and under the seal of friendship much is written that the author would feel reluctant to expose to publicity. Nevertheless, I judged it inexpedient to make many changes in the Work, notwithstanding its numerous defects, which have not escaped my observation; for had I done so I should have been obliged to re-write the book,—a task the idea of which I was compelled to abandon. I therefore submit my letters to the reader almost in the form in which they were originally composed.

I have been under the necessity of speaking of many individuals who still exist, some of them belonging to, and others unconnected with Lafayette's family. I trust they will pardon me for having introduced their names without previously obtaining their consent; and I am the more inclined to rely upon their indulgence, as I have fortunately had no occasion to present them in any other than a favourable light.

Under the impression that a representation of natural objects, which strikes the sight, is more deeply engraved on the memory than any description that can be given, I had forwarded to Mr. Townsend some sketches taken with the pen, and representing several of the scenes and persons referred to in my letters. These drawings, clumsily and hastily executed, like the text

of my Work, had no other merit than that of accuracy ; they have since been re-copied and much improved by three artists, Messrs. Andrew, Best, and Leloir, who to mutual friendship for each other unite talents of a high order. These gentlemen, assisted by the pencil of a skilful draftsman, M. Letellier, have re-produced my sketches, and in correcting them have displayed a degree of courtesy and zeal that merits my warmest acknowledgements. The engravings now presented will I trust incontestably prove the progress which the art of wood-engraving has of late years made in France. With regard to two of the subjects, I have been assisted by the talent of two of my friends, Messrs. Gudin and Pradier.

Messrs. Galignani have undertaken to publish my letters, not so much with a view to a commercial speculation, as through a desire of joining in the homage paid to the memory of our great fellow-citizen. Another publication of the Work has been characterized by that liberality which should ever form the bond of union between commerce and the fine arts and sciences.

To facilitate as much as possible the reading of these letters, and to remedy the want of order, and indeed confusion, that prevails in many of my pages, an analytical Table of Contents is prefixed, and there is subjoined an alphabetical list of the principal names mentioned in the course of the Work.

I shall esteem myself happy if, notwithstanding the imperfections of my book, the reader may find in it some interesting passages which may dispose him to regard my labours with indulgence. Should he have been intimately acquainted with Lafayette, it is my hope and my wish that he may recognize him in the following pages; and should he be willing to furnish me on the subject of his life with any new facts capable of being grouped with those which I have already put together, I shall most thankfully and most cheerfully publish his communications—if I may indulge in the supposition that my Work is destined to reach a second edition.

PARIS, October 15, 1835.

ANALYTICAL

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RECOLLECTIONS
OF THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

LETTER I.

PARIS, August 24th, 1834.

SIR,

IN requiring to be informed of the circumstances accompanying the malady which has just closed the career of General Lafayette, and to be furnished with such particulars of his private life as my intimacy with himself and his family may have enabled me to communicate, you impose on me a most painful task—painful on account of the bitter recollections which it awakens—and one to which my powers would be inadequate, were I expected to do full justice to a subject that now belongs to history.

What an extraordinary existence was that of Lafayette! We first observe him a weak boy, reared under the influence of all the prejudices and aristocratic ideas

of his day, and impressed with the notion which had been carefully instilled into him, that the science of heraldry was the first of human acquirements. Scarcely had he emerged from boyhood, when he felt his heart beat responsive to the cries of distress, uttered by a people who had just raised the standard of independence, and made a bold effort to shake off the galling yoke of England. At the age of nineteen, Lafayette quitted a young and lovely woman whom he adored, and to whom his destiny had been united. Surmounting every obstacle opposed to his generous design, he quitted his country, and hastened to devote to the cause of the oppressed people of North America his counsel, his personal assistance, and his entire fortune. After shedding his blood for their cause in the plains of Brandywine, he brought back victory to their standard ; by his personal influence, and by the credit of his family, he induced the cabinet of Versailles to recognize and support their independence, and thus insured the triumph of the holiest cause in which enterprise and courage had ever been enlisted.

Lafayette passed through an age of corruption without losing his purity. He was proof against the seductions of the court of Louis XV., and the temptations to which the youth of France were exposed under the reign of his successor. He witnessed the excesses and the weakness of power, the resistance opposed to it from every quarter, and the first grand shock which preceded the whirlwind of revolution, and the progress of subsequent reforms. The opinions and the interests of the different classes were brought into collision ; the bonds of society were loosened ; its very elements were con-

founded together ; the people had risen, and the reign of brute force seemed about to commence. A federal compact was the result of this conflict ; in presence of three hundred thousand spectators, it was sworn to on the altar of the country by the king, by the army, by a deputation of fourteen thousand of the National Guards, and by Lafayette, in the name of his fellow-citizens. This solemn civic oath, which seemed calculated to ensure the happiness of France, and which was repeated from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, was soon violated. Lafayette, who was the commander, and in fact the creator of the National Guard, calmly braved the dangers by which he was surrounded, and repelled with horror the excesses which sullied, from its very commencement, a revolution destined to become as fertile in crime as in traits of heroism. His conscience was his guiding star ; his courage the pilot that led him safe through the storm by which France was overwhelmed ; and his progress through that grand epoch was marked by patriotism, civic courage, and a series of advantageous reforms and liberal institutions, with which he assisted to ameliorate the condition of France. After the 10th of August, 1792, the purity of his sentiments and political principles led to his proscription. Having no other alternative than to quit his country, or to violate his oaths to the constitutional government, he hesitated not a moment, and submitted to voluntary exile. In violation of the rights of nations, his perfidious enemies seized him on neutral ground and threw him into prison, in the hope of abridging his days, or at least of rendering the world forgetful of a life watched over by Providence. In spite of his virtue, his

courage, and his resignation, he was exposed to the most unworthy treatment, marched for the space of five years from the prisons of Prussia to those of Austria, and finally plunged into the dungeons of Olmutz, in virtue of an order wrested from the Emperor.

In the absence of Lafayette from the political scene, France, notwithstanding the civil war which desolated her provinces, was enabled, by the institution of her National Guards, to resist the efforts of all Europe in arms against her. The ancient monarchy was sapped from its foundations, and its feeble heir, despite of his virtues, and the constitution which protected him, perished amidst the ruins of his throne. The different parties, by turns vanquished or triumphant, were often cruel and sanguinary, sometimes great and magnanimous, but always formidable. Nothing was respected. The joy, or rather the delirium, of a people intoxicated with licentiousness, was expressed in the burlesque or bloody saturnalia with which they degraded their worship of the Supreme Being. The temples of religion were profaned or overthrown, and its ministers banished or immolated. Whole towns, declared in a state of revolt, were destined to be razed to the ground in the name of the law, and as a disgrace to the territory of the Republic. Death hovered over France: in the outraged name of liberty and equality, the *élite* of society perished under the revolutionary axe, and men the most distinguished by their rank, their virtues, and their acquirements, expiated with their lives the crime of devotion to the interests of their country. The frenzied representatives of the Mountain party, the ring-leaders of popular despotism, were soon butchered in

their turn : with them finished the reign of terror and its wide-spreading desolation, which had commenced its cry of havoc in the sovereign's palace.

After a long and painful detention, Lafayette was restored to liberty, but was still compelled to linger in exile. Scarcely had he again set foot in the land of his birth, ere he found his countrymen fascinated by the glory of the soldier who, at a later period, forced them to bow before his iron sceptre, and immolated freedom with the weapon he had seized to destroy anarchy. Lafayette was then reduced to lead a life of obscurity, and to solace himself with the affections of the heart, in the retreat in which he devoted himself to the cultivation of his fields. In that peaceful spot he resisted the powerful solicitations of the conqueror whose renown dazzled all Europe. He looked upon Napoleon merely in the light of a superior genius, who abused his power to subjugate the world; and, notwithstanding his personal obligations to that great man, he refused to move in the sphere of his imperial despotism.

After the misfortunes of the empire,—the sad result of our victories,—France, torn and invaded by her enemies under the name of her allies, derived some consolation from the subsequent peace which she enjoyed. The morning of liberty dawned upon the cherished land, which at length ceased to be made subservient to the oppression of other nations. The institution of the National Guards was revived,—an institution to which France owes her triumphs, and to which Europe will one day owe her emancipation. Lafayette awoke to hope—his heart beat with renewed ardour—he quitted his retreat—hastened to the tribune, to defend public

liberty against old prejudices, and the encroachments of a power re-established by force; and his voice was heard from the moment when the honour, the glory, and the independence of his country were at stake.

The Americans having unanimously invited his presence, Lafayette obeyed the call of his old companions in arms, with whom more than fifty years before, under the walls of York Town, he had gathered the laurels that overshadowed the cradle of their rising liberty. The sons of liberated America inherited the gratitude of their fathers, and decreed to their defender a triumph unprecedented in the annals of the world. On his return to France, a popular but legal insurrection avenged the violation of the charter, by the overthrow of the sovereign who had conspired against it. In the midst of this glorious revolution, whose thunder re-echoed throughout Europe, which it menaced with a general conflagration, Lafayette, faithful to his principles, and to the mission confided to him by the people, endeavoured to fix on a wider and more solid basis the liberty and the happiness of his country,—the objects towards which from that period to the hour of his death, his efforts were constantly directed.

The sketch which I have here rapidly traced will form a glorious subject to be developed by the writer who may one day record the life of Lafayette in the annals of history. The obligation which you impose on me is fortunately the more easy, as it merely requires that I should communicate isolated facts in the domestic career of this illustrious man. The confidence which he reposed in me enabled me to see him closely, to observe the slightest circumstances of his life, and to ascertain

his real sentiments on a variety of matters that formed the subject of his private conversations. The feelings of respect and gratitude expressed by you in your letter, for the liberator of your country, leave me in no doubt as to the indulgence with which you will receive every particular that relates to him; and I shall esteem myself happy if my simple narrative can present to you, or such of your countrymen as may read it, a slight portion of the interest that you might unquestionably expect to find in details from a more practised pen than mine. Besides, as I can devote to the pleasure of addressing you only the few leisure moments left to me by my public functions, and by the duties of my profession, my letters will, no doubt, take their tone from the circumstances under which they are written. I therefore rely upon your indulgence to excuse their form and manner in favour of their matter.

Connected with General Lafayette since the commencement of my medical career, honoured with his confidence and friendship, and with the intimacy of his family, I venture to believe that the publication of all that my memory may enable me to retain of his words and actions in the domestic circle, will be considered neither an indiscreet nor an unseasonable disclosure. His ashes now claim only that regard to truth which is due to the dead; and I may therefore unreservedly reveal all that I know of his personal conduct and his noble character. There are certainly few individuals with regard to whom a writer could advance thus far, without the dread of being obliged to shrink from the tribunal of public opinion. But every act of Lafayette's life was great and generous, and had for its object the

welfare of mankind, of whom he was the sincere friend, and to whom he presented the noble example of his virtues, and of his uniformly irreproachable conduct.

By way of introduction, permit me in the first place to give you a description of Lafayette's person, at least as far as my memory and my pen can accomplish a task which might with more propriety be confided to the pencil of a skilful limner. Lafayette was tall and well-proportioned. He was decidedly inclined to *embonpoint*, though not to obesity. His head was large; his face oval and regular; his forehead lofty and open; his eyes, which were full of goodness and meaning, were large and prominent, of a greyish blue, and surmounted with light and well-arched, but not bushy eyebrows. His nose was aquiline; his mouth, which was habitually embellished with a natural smile, was seldom opened except to utter kind and gracious expressions. His complexion was clear; his cheeks were slightly coloured, and, at the age of seventy-seven, not a single wrinkle furrowed his countenance, the ordinary expression of which was that of candour and frankness. Gifted with a strong and vigorous constitution, which had not been developed till late in life, and which had been enfeebled neither by the vicissitudes of a career passed amidst political convulsions, nor by the sufferings and privations which he had undergone during his captivity, Lafayette, notwithstanding his advanced age, enjoyed his intellectual faculties to their full extent, and was rendered by his moral energy superior to circumstances which bow down or crush the generality of mankind. During the latter years of his life his health was good, or at most troubled at but rare intervals by slight indispositions, or

by transient fits of gout, the first attack of which he felt some years ago. Whenever he had occasion for medical assistance, my friend Professor Guersent visited him as his physician, and myself in my capacity of surgeon.

Lafayette's sight was excellent ; but of late his hearing had lost something of its delicacy, and the circumstance was the more perceptible whenever he felt himself indisposed. His perceptions, both morally and physically speaking, were keen, and he usually gave free vent to the manifestations of his agreeable impressions. Those of a contrary nature his strength of mind enabled him to support, or at least to dissemble, in order that he might spare his friends the knowledge of his sufferings. His physiognomy, which was habitually calm, gave a faithful reflection of the movements of his soul, and at times assumed much expression, though it was less under the influence of his sensations than of his sentiments. According to the circumstances in which he was placed, joy, hope, pity, or gratitude, tenderness or severity, were by turns predominant in his eyes and in every feature of his countenance. His deportment was noble and dignified, but his gait, since the year 1803, was rather constrained, in consequence of the accident of a broken thigh, which compelled him to lean on his cane when walking, and prevented him from sitting down with ease and quickness, on account of a stiffness in the hip joint. His other movements were easy and natural, and though he had but little suppleness in his fingers, his gestures were graceful, and rarely abrupt even in the moments when his conversation was most animated. The tone of his voice, which was naturally serious, was

soft and agreeable, or strong and sonorous, according to the circumstances under which he spoke. When the subject of conversation was gay, he laughed heartily, but even the excess of his mirth was never displayed in sudden and violent bursts of laughter. He dined at home as often as possible, and his frugal meal invariably consisted of a little fish, and the wing of a fowl; he drank nothing but water. I have not the least doubt that his sobriety and temperance, and the regularity of his regimen, greatly contributed to exempt him from the infirmities of old age.

Lafayette's dress was always extremely simple, and free from every thing like pretension. He usually wore a long grey or dark-coloured great coat, a round hat, pantaloons and gaiters, as represented in the full length portrait executed some years ago by M. Scheffer, and which resembles him in every respect. He was remarkably clean and neat in his person, even to minuteness, and for this reason his valet de chambre, Bastien, who had been long in his service, and never quitted him, became at last indispensable for his comfort. The faithful servant knew all his master's habits, and in a great measure was enabled to anticipate his wants.

During his latter years, Lafayette led an agreeable, and above all, a regular existence; every instant of his time having its stated occupation. His moments of recreation were spent in the bosom of his family, or amongst a circle of intimate friends, on whom he bestowed the hours not devoted to his legislative labours or to his numerous correspondents. He ever regarded time as a gift of which the best use was to be made, and, according to his own expression, "he was not at liberty

to lose it himself, and still less to occasion the loss of it to others." If he was not always exact to the hour of a rendezvous given or accepted by him, the multiplicity of his engagements and his pre-occupation of mind were the cause of the delay; but in important cases his punctuality was exemplary. I have never seen him indulge in any of those social games to which people have recourse by way of pastime, or to kill time, as the phrase is generally used. He was fond of the country, and, when not detained in Paris by business, usually retired to Lagrange, where his existence was altogether patriarchal.

The moral and intellectual faculties of Lafayette tended strongly towards all that was good, great, or generous in human nature. His reason was too solid, and his judgement too sure, to suffer him to give way to an ardent imagination: consequently his enthusiasm was always based on grounds approved of by his conscience and his reason. In his opinion, it was necessary that the *beau ideal* should be useful, just, honourable, and confined within the bounds of possibility. His mind was cultivated and his acquirements extensive, particularly in the historical, moral, and political sciences. He read much, and often wrote or dictated. He had been placed in such different social positions, had been thrown into contact with so many men, and had been concerned in so many events, that he was enabled, more than any other individual, to perfect himself in the knowledge of the human heart, and of those institutions which govern, or ought to govern, society according to the state of its civilization. He was great even in little circumstances, which he seemed to exalt by the attention which he paid

to them. He took a comprehensive view of the general principles of morality and politics; but sometimes his heart deceived his reason, and he was misled by illusions honourable to himself when it became necessary to apply those principles to mankind, with whom I believe he was not so thoroughly acquainted. He judged men according to his own feelings, and if he was sometimes mistaken in them, it was because he saw them as they ought to be,—because he believed them better than they really are,—because he was too virtuous for his age. Having never cherished a single thought which was not prompted by good, he could with difficulty imagine the existence of evil in others, and therefore was not prone to suspicion. This noble and generous feeling is the attribute of elevated minds, and will hardly be understood by those who have viewed Lafayette only through the false medium of their prejudices or their passions.

LETTER II.

PARIS, August 31st, 1834.

PERMIT me, Sir, in future to continue without preface the course of the narrative that I may have been obliged to interrupt. By this means we shall not lose our time, you in reading, or I in writing, useless and common-place forms of correspondence.

Lafayette was enabled by a happy memory to call to mind all the circumstances in which he had borne an active part; and also those of which he had been merely a witness. Frequently has he related to us events which took place in his infancy and his youth, and that with a precision and freshness of recollection which might have led to a belief that the occurrences in question had passed only the day before. His memory was amazingly retentive of dates, and the genealogy or anecdotes of families mentioned in conversation; and in this respect, as in many others, there was a strong resemblance between him and the Count de Ségur, his relation, friend, and old companion in arms in the wars of the American independence. Gifted with penetration, exquisite tact, and considerable delicacy of observation, he employed those faculties, as well as his experience, only on the defensive; for he had too much generosity of disposition to make another use of them, and they were not always sufficient to preserve him from the snares laid for him by treachery. A lady,

whose good sense is equal to her wit, (Madame Dupaty, the daughter of Cabanis,) said to me, speaking of Lafayette, with whose family she is extremely intimate: "To appreciate his frankness you must have known him as thoroughly as we did. He was too honest not to leave his keys always in the locks, even in politics." The metaphor was as happy as it was true.

Lafayette's conversation was easy and full of good humour. He expressed himself gracefully or forcibly according to the subject of conversation, and gave a peculiar charm even to the most ordinary topics, without saying any thing idle or frivolous. He knew how to time his repartees, which were lively, and which at the same time struck home. When he was arrested by the Austrians in 1792, an aide-de-camp of Prince de * * *, the enemy's general, came to him, on behalf of his superior, to demand the money of the army which he had been obliged to quit. Lafayette, astonished at the demand, laughed heartily; and when the aide-de-camp advised him to take the matter more seriously, "How can I help laughing?" said he, "for all that I can understand of your demand is, that had your Prince been in my place he would have run away with the military chest." The aide-de-camp had nothing to say in reply, took leave of the prisoner, and departed as he came.

When Lafayette happened to utter a *bon mot*, it was always properly applied; and his pleasantries, which were rare, were invariably in good taste. In 1788, he had joined the movement of the nobles of Brittany against the government. The Queen, losing all patience, asked him, why he, who was from Auvergne,

meddled with the affairs of the Bretons. "I am a Breton, Madam," replied Lafayette, "just as your Majesty is of the house of Hapsburg." It is well known that Lafayette's mother was from Brittany, and that the Queen was descended by the female side from the house of Hapsburg.

Lafayette spoke but little in the Constituent Assembly, for at that time his duties left him less at liberty to ascend the tribune than to address the National Guards or the populace, whose violence he had often to blame, and whose excesses he was obliged to check. "At the Assembly," as he said in a letter to the Bailli de Ploën*, "I spoke but little, and with the reserve which became the general of the armed force." Since the restoration, his natural dislike to public speaking had yielded to his desire of defending the interests of his country; his talent for extempore speaking, which then dawned, and which increased still further during his last journey to America, shone forth in all its lustre after the revolution of 1830. None of the speeches pronounced by him in the Chamber of Deputies were prepared; his extempore addresses were just, luminous, and often characterized by that manly eloquence to which his sincere patriotism gave birth. If the subject with which he was occupied interested him deeply; if it was connected with the general interests of society,—with the defence of the oppressed, with the relief of the unfortunate, with the maintenance and the dignity of France, his language was most persuasive and engaging,

* Letter of General Lafayette to the Bailli de Ploën, dated Wilmold, January 15, 1799, and inserted in the *Mémoires de Tous, Collection de Souvenirs Contemporains*, Tome I.

and every listener felt that his talent and his eloquence were the faithful interpreters of his heart. His speeches were intelligible to all, on account of their simplicity and the clearness of the object at which he aimed. Being one day in a public place, I listened to the conversation of several artisans who were reading a newspaper among themselves, on the articles of which they commented in terms less courteous than just. "Come," said the reader, "this man (naming Lafayette) at least speaks French: we can understand what he wishes to say."

Lafayette's questions were always addressed with clearness and precision, and he listened to the answers with attention and affability. If he found those answers obscure, he demanded an explanation of them with a delicacy and perfect good breeding which put those who spoke to him entirely at their ease. The English language was as familiar to him as the French; and he wrote both with great facility. The best and the happiest expressions presented themselves naturally to his pen; and his style was distinguished at once by elevation, force, conciseness, and simplicity. "*Le style, c'est l'homme*," for style depicts man's manner of feeling and thinking: Lafayette was more particularly represented by his style, because it was noble and pure, like his soul.

His ideas were clear, his principles and opinions decided, and expressed with frankness, though sometimes in the form of sentences. His familiar correspondence breathed the spirit of his thoughts and convictions. His disclosures were complete, though at the same time he respected the secrets of private individuals, whom he took care not to

compromise. What he wrote emanated from a just mind, and an upright heart, anxious for the public welfare; and those who read his writings felt a strong desire to become personally acquainted with the author. As to his style in writing English, I confess that I am not sufficiently acquainted with that language to express an opinion. Being desirous, however, of forming a notion on this point, I shewed the English correspondence of Lafayette with Masclet to one of your countrymen, whose modesty and good sense are equal to his information and taste, and the following were his reflections on the subject. “Lafayette has happily avoided the two principal dangers to which the majority of those who attempt to write in a foreign language are exposed. His style is as free from servile imitation as from grammatical errors or faults of idiom: in a word, it is peculiar to himself; it displays the man though under another costume. It is simple without meanness, concise without obscurity, dignified without affectation; and often contains those happy turns of expression which infuse such a charm into letters written in French. Scarcely ever does it contain one of those little particles which betray the foreign origin of the writer. His letters, it is true, present some inversions not authorized perhaps by modern custom, but by no means at variance with the genius of the language. On the contrary, they establish a sort of link between the writer and the old English authors, who are always read with delight by such as are acquainted with them. Such inversions are admirable for their delicacy and *naïveté*: without shocking the ear, or proving injurious to clearness of expression, they arrest the attention of the reader, deck

themselves as it were in the smile resulting from his agreeable surprise, and prevent monotony of style. Lafayette writes English with much facility. His letters present no trace of painful effort or laboured composition. He seems never to hesitate in his choice of a suitable word or turn of expression, though he sometimes forgets that the English language can with difficulty bend to that nervous and even elliptic concision of which a skilful French writer often avails himself with so much advantage. This forgetfulness occasionally gives an appearance of roughness and even abruptness to Lafayette's style. His letters are irreproachable, as presenting a faithful picture of his mind : in reading them we feel irresistibly inclined to love the writer ; and perhaps in this respect they are inferior to nothing ever composed by him in his own language. Amongst the English, and others who speak that language, such expressions as are employed to depict different degrees of friendship are certainly less numerous and less graceful than amongst the French ; but, on the other hand, such expressions have been less frequently subject to the encroachments of gallantry or exaggerated politeness, and are consequently more candid and sincere. In the mouth of such a man as Lafayette, it will be readily imagined that all these qualities acquire new force." From such of Lafayette's English letters as I shall literally transcribe for you, you may form your own judgment of the truth of my friend's reflections.

The characters of Lafayette's writing were small and well formed, and yet rather difficult to be read ; and it is a remarkable fact, that his English was much more legible than his French writing. Though he

never made rough copies, his letters rarely presented erasures : a fact I have ascertained by looking over those which I have seen of his writing, as well as others which he has addressed to myself, and which I carefully preserve.

Lafayette never forgot that he was a man, and the recollection placed him on a level with all mankind, whatever might be the position of the individuals with whom he came in contact. His inferiors never felt, or at least he never made them feel, his superiority ; and with the more elevated portion of society he was unquestionably on a footing of equality, none being his superior in virtue. His candour and good feeling were constantly displayed in the frankness of his manners, and the modesty and dignity of his language. He had the tone of a man of high rank belonging to the old court, as well as the utmost urbanity for every person who addressed him. He received with equal courtesy the most distinguished personages who visited him from all countries, and the poorest peasants, working people, widows, and orphans who implored his protection or his assistance. His calm and measured air of benevolence kept at a distance such as might have been tempted to assume with him a degree of misplaced familiarity. He might have passed for a model of *bon ton* without formality, of politeness without affectation, and he might have served as a pattern for that portion of our youth who style themselves *la jeune France*,—as if France consisted of several distinct and separate generations obliged to live together in a constant state of hatred and hostility—as if both young and old in France did not form one and the same great and generous people.

It is true that a portion at least of the population of France, once quoted for her courtesy, which now belongs to the days of history, has been invaded by a spirit that may be termed rather military than chivalrous. Intoxicated with self-accorded omnipotence, the new generation that would fain govern society is nevertheless, in point of good breeding, far inferior to other nations to whom we formerly served as an example. Lafayette was aware of this error, but, young in heart and mind, and ever disposed to indulgence, he received young people almost as his comrades, and seemed anxious to efface the recollection of the years which separated them from himself.

When a good action was to be performed, or a service to be rendered, Lafayette listened only to the inspirations of his heart, or the voice of his internal monitor—conscience. If he saw that an act was useful or just, to undertake it became with him an imperative duty, from which he never recoiled, and his perseverance, aided by his gentle and persuasive eloquence, almost constantly enabled him to attain his object. He could not rest till his internal feelings were satisfied, and the motto which regulated his conduct was ever—*“fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra.”*

After the revolution of 1830, when Lafayette appointed me surgeon to the general staff of the National Guards of the kingdom, I had an opportunity of witnessing the inconceivable activity which he could display under pressing circumstances. He was occupied with the organization of the legions, with the reception of deputations from Paris and the departments; he read applications, listened to claims addressed to him, ar-

ranged disputed questions, drew up nominations, visited the wounded in the hospitals, frequently mounted his horse, and endured the fatigues of the protracted reviews of the National Guards: in short, he did every thing, and without injury to his health. His strength seemed absolutely to increase with the multiplied nature of his duties. His moral faculties exercised an absolute control over his physical powers, and it might have been said of him with truth, that he was "an intelligence served by organs." He possessed that calmness so difficult to be acquired and preserved—that calmness which augments with increase of danger, and which bestows on the possessor a *sang-froid* not to be shaken by the most imminent peril. His courageous acts under many circumstances of his political existence are too well known to need recapitulation from me.

Few possessed the virtues of patience and resignation in a higher degree than Lafayette. During his last illness, he acquainted us with the nature of the medical treatment which he had undergone in 1803 for a fracture of the thigh, occasioned by a fall on a slippery pavement. Deschamp and Boyer, whose memory I respect, and whom I am proud to have had for my masters, were summoned in their professional capacity to his assistance. The fractured limb was enclosed in a machine, which kept it in a constant state of tension; and as Lafayette had promised those skilful surgeons to support the pain with patience as long as they might judge it necessary for his cure, he uttered not a single complaint for the fifteen or twenty days during which the apparatus was applied. When it was removed, the surgeons were unable to conceal the annoyance they felt at the effect pro-

duced by the bandages. Deschamp turned pale; Boyer was stupified: the upper bandages had, by their pressure, cut deeply into the muscles of the inside of the thigh, and laid bare the femoral artery; the action of the lower ones had been less violent, but they had produced a mortification of the skin at the back part of the foot and laid bare the tendons of the toes. In consequence of Lafayette's stoical fortitude, the vigilance of his surgeons was completely at fault. Deep scars bore evidence of the truth of one of his observations to us, uttered, however, in confidence, through an apprehension of injuring, not the interests but the memory of two individuals for whom he felt gratitude, although their exertions on his behalf had been unsuccessful. A length of time elapsed before he recovered from the lamentable consequences which resulted from his medical treatment, and which were followed by an almost complete ankylosis and lameness of the hip-joint. On this subject he wrote as follows to his friend Masclet, of whom I shall frequently have occasion to speak to you hereafter, and whose name is honourably connected with those of the prisoners at Olmütz.

“PARIS, 30 Floréal.

“You are pleased to ask for a line of my handwriting, dear Masclet, and I employ the first moments I am able to scribble it. The fracture of my thigh is perfectly mended, better, indeed, than could be expected under such circumstances. But the extending machine has left deep and painful wounds, which cannot be healed within five weeks. I shall pass them at Auteuil, where my daughter-in-law is on the point of making me a

grandfather, and at Aulnay, Madame de Tesse's country seat. Afterwards I shall return to my happy rural retirement of Lagrange. Georges is about to be aide-de-camp to General Canclaux, inspector of cavalry. I am highly pleased with my new son-in-law, your friend's nephew. We are much concerned at the unhappy prospect of a war, which this government had a sincere desire to avoid. I am constantly thinking of your concerns, and wish it was in my power to contribute to a promotion equally just with respect to you and useful to the public. My best and most affectionate wishes attend you. Present my friendly respects to Mrs. Masclet; my wife and family beg to be remembered to her and to you. Our friend Masson, notwithstanding his misfortunes, does very well at Hamburgh. Adieu, my dear Masclet.

“ I am, always your affectionate friend,

“ L. F.”

Although Lafayette could endure with stoical resignation the most poignant physical anguish, when he judged it inevitable or necessary, he was impatient under sufferings much less acute, if he doubted the advantage to be derived from them. Thus he could never reconcile himself to the annoyance of an issue, which was applied to his arm five or six years ago; simply because he was unable to see the advantage of it. I question if Lafayette was ever in a passion; at least I have no recollection of having seen him lose his temper, even under circumstances that might have occasioned or excused one of those violent movements of the soul which few men are able to master. When any circumstance annoyed him

he became taciturn, his forehead and eyebrows were slightly contracted, and a shade of sadness was visible on his countenance; but these moments of uneasiness rather than of ill-humour, were not of long duration, and his features soon recovered their serenity. One day one of his friends had uttered, from the tribune of the Lower Chamber, certain opinions which he repelled as utterly at variance with his principles. The only phrase in which he expressed his dissatisfaction was—"Well, well, he wants common sense." These words he pronounced in a firm tone of voice, though evidently with much emotion. When in company with people who gave way to violent bursts of passion, he pitied them, and set down the vehemence of their language or their actions as a sort of momentary alienation of mind, a lamentable or ridiculous expression of weakness: he himself became on such occasions more calm, and his superior reason pronounced judgment on their violence, by a smile of dignity, which, according to circumstances, either suddenly appeased or redoubled their fury.

Ambition, as that passion is generally understood,—a strong desire to rise above others, to occupy the first place,—formed no part of Lafayette's character. In him the passion was nothing more than a constant and irresistible wish to do good. His heart, of course, beat with joy when he had performed a noble action or rendered an important service, but it was with that pure and lively joy felt by a child on receiving his first prize. "An irresistible passion," said he, in a letter to the Bailli de Ploën, "that would induce me to believe in innate ideas and the truth of prophecy, has decided my career. I have always loved liberty with the enthu-

siasm which actuates the religious man, with the passion of a lover, and with the conviction of a geometrician. On leaving college, where nothing had displeased me more than a state of dependence, I viewed the greatness and the littleness of the court with contempt, the frivolities of society with pity, the minute pedantry of the army with disgust, and oppression of every sort with indignation. The attraction of the American revolution drew me suddenly to my proper place; I felt myself tranquil only when sailing between the continent whose powers I had braved, and the place where, although our arrival and our ultimate success were problematical, I could at the age of nineteen take refuge, in the alternative of conquering or perishing in the cause to which I had devoted myself."

Lafayette valued reputation and glory, but cared little for the power that generally results from them. Having one day been asked who was, in his opinion, the greatest man of this age; "In my idea," replied he, "General Washington is the greatest man; for I look upon him as the most virtuous."

During the revolution of July, amongst the number of deputations that presented themselves at the Hôtel de Ville to ask General Lafayette to proclaim the republic, there was one that urged him to take possession of the crown for himself and his family. "You recal to my memory," replied he to the members of the deputation, "the anecdote of Marshal Saxe, to whom the Academy offered a seat. His answer is really the only one I can make to you: 'that would suit me just as a ring would fit a cat.'"

A short time after this great national movement, an

Englishman arrived post from London to Paris to see Lafayette, and returned as soon as he had accomplished his object. Some of his countrymen wished to detain him, but he refused their solicitations, and said on leaving them, "I was desirous of seeing a man who had refused a crown; I *have* seen him, and return content."

Candour was the predominant quality of Lafayette's character; and gave a colour to every act of his private life, just as the first rays of morning give a tint to an agreeable landscape. His good qualities had scarcely a shade; they stood out on the picture of his life by the contrast of all around, like those ethereal figures which imagination alone can create, and whose ideal existence is concealed from the senses, and cannot be *materially* represented even by the painter. Virtue was so natural to him, that the actions of his private life which were most admired seemed to pass unperceived. It might have been said, that his domestic existence was virtue put into action. Perhaps his candour and frankness might have been termed folly by such as were not acquainted with him, or by those corrupt individuals who rendered the opposite qualities subservient to their interests.

In his most familiar conversations, and even on occasion of anecdotes the subject of which admitted of a sort of careless jocularly, I never heard Lafayette employ an unbecoming or a trivial expression. A sentiment of natural modesty, strengthened by education and habit, rendered him averse to such a practice, and, in order to understand certain subjects, his hearer was always obliged to pierce, as it were, the veil of delicacy with which he enveloped them. A number of his old friends have assured me that, when in the army, they

never heard him swear or use gross language, as sometimes happens to the best educated military men.

Lafayette was perfectly master of his emotions, and seemed not to share those of others, when he judged it improper to allow them to appear. Some years ago, in company with his son and his friend M. Chatelain, he attended a distribution of prizes at a school of mutual instruction which he had established in a village. The mayor pronounced a set speech, principally in honour of the patron of the school, and employed a number of pleonasms and bombastic phrases, which irresistibly provoked the merriment of his auditory. Lafayette, who occupied the chair of honour, remained perfectly calm, and never once smiled, whilst at the same time, by his gestures and significant looks, he managed to restrain the laughter of the company, for the sake of the luckless orator, who certainly did his best. Had Lafayette been even the indirect cause of inflicting pain upon him, he would have sincerely regretted it.

Lafayette religiously kept the secrets entrusted to him, for he looked upon them as the property of others, and I never heard him commit an indiscretion on this score. With regard to matters personal to himself, he had no secrets from his intimate friends, and such was his confidence in them that he never even recommended secrecy to them.

Few men have by turns been more eulogised and more vilified than Lafayette. He listened to truth with the tranquillity of a conscience free from reproach, and took no offence at it, even when its language was directed against himself; and, though not insensible to merited eulogium, at which even modesty cannot take alarm, he

was inaccessible to the invectives of passion, and to the deceitful praises of flattery or interest. A great man once said, "The man of superiority is in his nature unsubservient. It is of little consequence to him whether he be praised or blamed, for he listens to the voice of his conscience." The remark was perfectly applicable to Lafayette. "The doctrine which I profess," wrote he to the Bailli de Ploën, "has been briefly defined in my speeches and writings, confirmed at all times by my conduct, and sufficiently distinguished by my hatred of the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary excesses of all the oppressors of the human race. My reputation is attached to a great movement, in the course of which I had against me those who wished to arrest it, and those who desired to alter its nature. The names of my detractors, and their contradictions not only amongst themselves, but with themselves, would suffice to prove that my intentions have been pure. To determine if my ideas have been just, time and not metaphysical or party discussion is necessary,—time which, while it preserves the memory of the past and unravels the mysteries of the present, will bring to light the results of the future."

In the same letter he also expressed himself thus:—"My profession of faith made on the 11th July, 1789, the fruit of my past, and a pledge of my future life, was both a manifesto and an ultimatum. In my opinion, every thing contrary to that profession of faith is inadmissible, and all that does not concern it is merely secondary. It preceded the national insurrection by three days—the last insurrection that was necessary, and the last that I wished to see. The Bastille fell; in Paris

I was invested with the title of Commandant-General, and above all, with the reality of the office. Bailly was at the same time elected mayor, and afterwards Laroche-foucauld was president of the department on its creation." Those were three honest men.

Lafayette loved truth above all things, and rejected all that could change or corrupt its nature. Like Epaminondas, he would not have suffered himself even in joke to utter the slightest falsehood. He was the mirror of truth, even in the midst of political parties, whose condemnation he pronounced by presenting to them the hideous image of their passions: he thus offended without convincing them, and the mirror, being declared deceitful, was destined to be broken. I once heard him say—"The court would have accepted me had I been an aristocrat, and the jacobins had I been a jacobin, but, as I wished to side with neither, both united against me."

LETTER III.

PARIS, September 5th, 1834.

LAFAYETTE was too discreet and reserved always to tell all that he knew, but his hearers might be assured that he thought as he spoke. His opinions of men and things were frankly expressed, and yet I never heard him speak ill of any individual, nor was he accustomed to indulge in those perfidious insinuations which are so common amongst men of the world. Indulgence, on his part, was extreme, and he with difficulty believed an unfavourable report of the mind or character even of those with whom he was personally unacquainted. The poor and the oppressed never implored his aid in vain; he relieved the one, and protected the other; his hotel was always filled with unfortunate objects, for whose assistance his fortune was employed. That fortune he regarded only as enabling him to promote the interests of his country, to support and meliorate her social institutions, and to be of use to the distressed: his generosity was indeed unbounded. All kinds of misfortune affected him equally, and when any description of suffering was to be relieved, he ceased to calculate. Refugees, exiles,—in a word, all who have profited by his support or his benevolence,—keenly feel their bereavement in his loss, and mourn for him as for a second father. He was ever ready to quit his retreat at La-grange, when an act of duty or of kindness was to be performed. Placed at the head of most of the subscrip-

tions opened in favour of persecuted or distressed objects, he often performed two weekly journeys to Paris to preside or merely to be present at committees.

Lafayette's elevated social position, his fortune, his numerous connections in both hemispheres, enabled him to render important services, and his benevolent solicitude was exerted in favour of distant as well as of nearer objects. He sometimes found grateful hearts, though his kindness was often repaid with the blackest ingratitude; but it may be said to his credit that he never cherished, I will not say hatred, for that feeling was unworthy of his noble soul, but even the slightest resentment, against a human being. He forgot injuries, or rather they left no trace on his mind, which was the abode only of kind and generous sentiments. Gratitude was, in his opinion, a feeling which reflected as much honour on the receiver as a kindness on the bestower. Ingratitude he looked upon as the offspring of selfishness or vanity, and he was accustomed to say that with the ungrateful there was no resource; that the best way was to keep them at a distance when known, or to avoid them when once made their victim. Grovelling in adversity and insolent in prosperity, you are every thing to the ungrateful man when he wants you, and nothing to him when he can dispense with your assistance. Gratitude is a burthen only to a bad heart; for this reason Lafayette was not afraid of contracting obligations, which he repaid with interest whenever an opportunity occurred. One grateful heart made him forget a thousand instances of ingratitude, and thus he continued to oblige, though his kindness was often thrown away. The happiness which he felt in doing good would not

permit him to refuse his kind offices, and the surest way to oblige him was to afford him the opportunity of being useful to others. I have often availed myself of his kindness on behalf of my friends or of worthy individuals, and in so doing I felt conscious that I was guilty of no importunity. His confidence was, no doubt, often abused, and recommendations were obtained from him which he would have refused had he been induced by a little more distrust or even circumspection, to procure accurate information as to the objects of his kindness. Whenever he ascertained that he had been deceived, he made a resolution to be more reserved for the future; but his natural goodness always got the better of him, and his experience was of little use in putting him on his guard against fresh solicitations.

During his last illness, he gave me letters of recommendation in behalf of Dr. Delacoux, who was on the point of settling in New Orleans. "Persuade your friend to come and see me," said he; "I wish to point out to him the precautions he ought to adopt for his health, in a country that has proved fatal to a number of Europeans. It would be unfortunate, that one about to devote his existence to his fellow-creatures should become the victim of his zeal and humanity."

It is almost superfluous to say how Lafayette's letters were received by those to whom they were addressed. It was enough to present them to meet with unlimited support, protection, and devotedness. The name of the writer was a species of talisman which opened every door; and it might have been said, that to such as received his letters a spark was communicated from his soul, and a desire to imitate his virtues. Some years

ago one of my friends, who was abroad, shewed a letter from Lafayette to a distinguished personage entrusted with the confidence of an absolute sovereign. At sight of the letter, the powerful functionary seemed electrified, rose from his seat in token of respect, and entreated my friend as a special favour to give him a fragment of the precious correspondence.

This moral influence of Lafayette had been remarked in his youth, when he served in the American army. The following are the terms in which M. Chastellux spoke of him in his "Journey from Newport to Philadelphia",—a work, twenty-seven copies of which were printed at his desire, merely for the use of his friends :—
" We availed ourselves of the cessation of the rain to accompany his Excellency (General Washington) to the camp of the Marquis (General Lafayette). We found all his troops ranged in line of battle on the heights to the left, and himself at their head, expressing both by his deportment and physiognomy, that he preferred seeing me there to receiving me at his estate in Auvergne. The confidence and attachment of his troops are most precious in his eyes, for he looks upon that species of wealth as one of which he cannot be deprived. But what I find still more flattering to a young man of his age, is the influence which he has acquired in political as well as in military circles. I have no fear of being contradicted when I assert that mere letters from him have often had more influence in some of the States of the Union, than the strongest invitations on the part of the Congress. On seeing him, it is difficult to determine which is the more surprising circumstance, that a young man should have already given so many proofs of

talent, or that a man so proved should still leave so much room for hope! Happy will his country be if she knows how to avail herself of his aid,—and happier still, should that aid become superfluous to her!”

Whenever acknowledgments were paid to Lafayette for services rendered by him, his modesty was immediately up in arms. On such occasions he really appeared more embarrassed than the obliged party, and almost always changed the subject of conversation. The following fact will, in my opinion, prove more forcibly than many other instances the extent of his gratitude for the slightest services accepted by him. During his last illness, when his situation became so alarming, that we judged it necessary for one of us to sit up with him, his son apprized him that Dr. Girou de Buzareingues would pass the night by his bedside. “I am sorry for the trouble you are about to take,” said Lafayette, to my brother physician, in a tone of much gratitude, “and I really know not how I shall ever be able to repay you.” Dr. Girou having replied that he would allow no one except himself to fulfil such a duty, Lafayette pressed his hand affectionately, the tears trembled in his eyes, and with much emotion he enquired after the health and welfare of the physician’s father. “I am flattered,” said he, “by the kind thoughts which he entertains of me; pray tell him so in your letters.” He felt that the circumstance most gratifying to a good son is the interest testified by others in the welfare of his father.

Lafayette had a high regard for the domestic virtues, which he considered the basis of society, and the only certain and pure source of public prosperity. He even wished to introduce them into politics; and his public

life was in this respect a picture of his private life. He always spoke with respect and tenderness of both his parents, whom he lost almost in his infancy. In his children he cherished the memory of their mother, (Mademoiselle de Noailles,) whom he had loved most tenderly, and whose name he never mentioned but with visible emotion. One day during his last illness, I surprised him kissing her portrait, which he always wore suspended to his neck in a small gold medallion. Around the portrait were the words, "*Je suis à vous,*" and on the back was engraved this short and touching inscription, "*Je vous fus donc une douce compagne: eh bien ! benissez moi.*" I have since been informed that regularly every morning Lafayette ordered Bastien to leave the room, in which he shut himself up, and taking the portrait in both hands, looked at it earnestly, pressed it to his lips, and remained silently contemplating it for about a quarter of an hour. Nothing was more disagreeable to him than to be disturbed during this daily homage to the memory of his virtuous partner. His grief for her loss may be judged of from the following letter, which he wrote at the time to his friend Masclet, to thank him for his sympathy in so severe a misfortune :—

"I was certain, my dear Masclet, that you would tenderly regret the adorable woman whom you were pleased to celebrate before you were personally acquainted with her, and to cherish from the period when she was herself able to express to you her grateful friendship. It would be ungrateful in me to entertain a doubt of your participation in my grief; but although such a doubt was far from my thoughts, I have derived

a melancholy gratification from the renewed assurance of your feelings, and for that assurance I thank you most cordially. I willingly admit that under great misfortunes I have felt myself superior to the situation in which my friends had the kindness to sympathize ; but at present I have neither the power nor the wish to struggle against the calamity which has befallen me, or rather to surmount the deep affliction which I shall carry with me to the grave. It will be mingled with the sweetest recollections of the thirty-four years during which I was bound by the tenderest ties that perhaps ever existed, and with the thought of her last moments, in which she heaped upon me such proofs of her incomparable affection. I cannot describe the happiness which in the midst of so many vicissitudes and troubles I have constantly derived from the tender, noble, and generous feeling ever associated with the interests which gave animation to my existence. Assure Madame Masclet of my attachment and gratitude. You know my friendship for you, my dear Masclet, and that I am your's, most cordially,

“ LAFAYETTE.”

Lafayette divided his affection equally amongst his children ; and if he had a preference for any of them, it was at least not perceptible : when surrounded by his numerous family, his countenance expanded with a delight which it was impossible to witness without participating in the feeling. One morning, when we were in his private cabinet, he shewed me a letter from Don Pedro, which he allowed me to read, and which informed him that a wound received by his grandson

M. Jules de Lasteyrie, at the siege of Oporto, would be attended with no serious results, and that the sufferer was already out of danger. The Duke de Braganza, at the same time, pronounced a warm eulogium on the courage and coolness of the young man during the engagement. We could easily perceive the lively satisfaction felt by Lafayette at the reading of this letter, which was remarkable chiefly for the interest expressed by Don Pedro in his young aide-de-camp. Lafayette's thoughts naturally wandered back to the period of his first campaigns, which he too had performed on a foreign soil, in aid of an oppressed people, and he could not but perceive with a feeling of gratification that his grandson was following in his own steps, and imitating his example.

M. Jules de Lasteyrie had volunteered to serve as aide-de-camp to Don Pedro, at the period of the expedition undertaken to liberate Portugal from the yoke of Don Miguel. At the siege of Oporto, he was wounded in the leg by a ball; and the heat of the climate, added to the privations and fatigues which he underwent on that memorable occasion, brought on a violent ophthalmia, which had well nigh cost him his sight. As soon as Madame de Lasteyrie was acquainted with the critical situation of her son, she set out for Portugal, and was fortunate enough to bring him back to Paris without accident. Nothing could equal Lafayette's solicitude for his grandson during the latter's illness. When not by his side, he pressed me with questions on his situation, the probable issue of his malady, the period of his recovery, and the medical treatment which he had undergone in Portugal. He

felt the utmost pleasure when I informed him that at Oporto "his dear Jules" had been under the care of Dr. Queimado, and my friend Dr. Delaunay, surgeons-in-chief to the Queen's army; and that the efficacious measures adopted by my medical brethren had preserved his sight, which would otherwise have been infallibly lost.

One day Lafayette spoke to us in the most touching manner of the happiness felt by the son of Count de Ségur (General Philip de Ségur), at the period of the first revolution, when he had an opportunity of devoting the first fruits of his literary labours to the assistance of his father, who was then under a sentence of proscription. I asked him which of the two, under such circumstances, must in his opinion have been the happier, the father or the son? "The question," replied he, "is and will probably ever remain undecided, for each of the two insists on having had the greater share of happiness on his side." I was already acquainted with this fact, which had been related to me by the venerable Count de Ségur a few months before his decease. I had the regret to witness the death of that excellent man. He expired in the arms of his son, who had attended him on his death-bed with the tenderest care. During the latter years of his life he went out but little, on account of the indifferent state of his health; but he received at his own house, and with a kindness and affability which seemed inexhaustible, personages the most distinguished for rank, talent, and mental acquirements. His children and relatives treated him with the most tender and respectful homage. Few individuals have been more generally or more justly regretted than Count de

Ségur. Lafayette often visited him. I shall never forget one of his dinners, at which I met four general officers who had fought for the independence of America, Messieurs de Ségur, Lafayette, Charles Lameth, and Mathieu Dumas. The conversation turned principally on the different events of a war which had been so fertile in traits of courage and heroism, and it was enlivened by a variety of pleasant anecdotes, related with no less *naïveté* than delicacy.

Lafayette had a sincere admiration for Madame de Ségur's virtues, and often took pleasure in speaking to me of her and of her husband, and in quoting facts that did honour to their memory. Madame de Ségur, who was almost deprived of sight, was nevertheless the ornament of her husband's house, and he himself might have been termed the last of the stars (*notabilités*) of the elevated and intellectual society of Paris.

Those who knew Lafayette were attracted towards him by an irresistible charm, more difficult to be explained than felt, which could be accounted for on no principle of physiology, but which I think might have been called the charm of virtue. Every body looked up to him for counsel, support, and consolation, or as a refuge from the ills of life. On his side, he speedily sympathized with those who had any elevation of soul; and for this reason few could boast so many sincere and devoted friends. Let those who dreaded to approach Lafayette, or to confide in him when acquainted with him, search their own hearts, and there they will probably find a weak point that will explain to them the nature of their apprehension or of their distrust.

Real friends are made not by wit or understanding, but by the qualities of the heart. It is not therefore always amongst persons of extreme brilliancy of mind that we must seek friends, who are more frequently to be found amongst those less gifted with intellectual powers. It too frequently happens that the mind receives its development at the expense of the soul. In such cases, it may be said, that the powers of life converge towards the head, to aid the development of the intellect, and abandon the heart, which thus stagnates and withers. On the other hand, an excess of goodness, by attracting every thing within its reach, seems occasionally opposed to the development of the mind. It must not, however, be concluded from these general observations, that the qualities of the mind, and those of the heart, are incompatible with each other, or always become developed in an inverse proportion. On the contrary, when found together in the same individual, they constitute by their noble harmony the really superior man—the man who can best discharge the duties of friendship, who can best feel its charms, and kindle a feeling of them within the breasts of others. Such a man was Lafayette; he sincerely loved his friends, and his demonstrations of kindness were proportionate to the sentiments which he felt for them. According to the degree of his intimacy with a friend, he cordially squeezed his hand, or pressed him warmly in his arms, especially when he saw him after an absence, which always appeared to him too long. He was much more occupied with the interests of his friends than with his own. If they were sick, he incessantly enquired after their situations; and visited, for the pur-

pose of encouraging and consoling them. If their distance from him prevented his visiting them, he wrote to them, and his interest in their behalf never cooled under any circumstances.

The following passage is extracted from a letter which he wrote to Masclet, on the 7th April, 1813 :—
“ The Russian campaign has been particularly fatal to me. You have no doubt shared my regret for the loss of my dear Louis Romeuf,—a misfortune which I shall never cease to deplore. We have also lost my nephew, Alfred Noailles, to whom I was attached by so many feelings and recollections. Victor Tracy has been taken prisoner, as well as my poor friend Boinville, who was obliged to undergo the amputation of all his toes. My cousin, Octave Ségur, was also taken prisoner, at the commencement of the campaign. I wish that Boinville had been so before the retreat. You will sympathize with the misfortunes of the poor Gramonts, who have just lost a daughter-in-law, worthy of all their tenderness.”

Some years ago Lafayette instructed me to choose for him some surgical instruments, which he wished to present to President Jefferson, at the period of his last illness. When I handed to him the box containing them, he thanked me with his usual kindness, and added, “ What think you of my friend’s health ? His situation causes me the greatest anxiety. Why can I not send him in this box not only the instruments which he requires, but your experience and your guiding hand ? ” At that period he little foresaw that one day he himself would be attacked with a similar malady, and that all my care would be ineffectual to preserve his life !

Lafayette was extremely intimate with the Minister of the United States in Paris, Mr. Brown, whom I attended some years since for a rheumatic affection, from which he was relieved only by rigorous medical treatment, and by using the mineral waters of Aix. Every time that I saw Lafayette, he enquired after his friend. "I fear," said he to me one day, "that Paris is not so favourable to Mr. Brown's health as to our friendship, which the influence of climate is unable to change."

Lafayette had a high regard for Victor Jacquemont, who has just been carried off, in the prime of life, from science and friendship, after accomplishing a long and dangerous journey through the Himalayan mountains, which had exhausted his strength. Lafayette received him at Lagrange, where he treated him as one of his own children, during the progress of a debilitating malady with which he was attacked a few years before his departure. Distance and separation had not lessened the gratitude felt by poor Jacquemont for the General's kindness, and he never missed an opportunity of testifying the feeling. In March, 1831, a banquet was given to him at Lahore, at which M. Allard, General-in-chief of Runjet Sing's cavalry, and some other Frenchmen, were present. "After the dessert," wrote he to his father, "I for an instant forgot my frugal regimen, to drink General Lafayette's health in a glass of Champagne, and the fact was singular enough at Lahore." Lafayette was deeply afflicted on learning the death of his young friend, and hastened to condole with his father, with whom he was on terms of intimacy.

After the revolution of 1830, Lafayette gave nume-

rous proofs of his active humanity for a number of the wounded, and amongst others for M. Levasseur, his secretary and friend. M. Levasseur had accompanied Lafayette on his last voyage to America, a narrative of which he has since published. In the attack upon the Louvre, in the revolution of 1830, this brave young man received a ball in the foot, which broke the bones of the tarsus. I considered it improper to attempt amputation: the most serious symptoms displayed themselves, and for the five-and-twenty or thirty days during which they lasted, the patient's life was in imminent danger. Lafayette visited M. Levasseur in the confined garret to which he had been conveyed after the engagement, and the atmosphere of which, heated by the rays of a burning sun, scarcely permitted him to breathe. He consoled his aged father, and kept up his hope. It was a melancholy sight to see the latter, a gray-haired old man, whom death had spared on the field of battle, throwing himself at our feet, and with clasped hands and cries of despair entreating us to preserve his son's life. The patient, who was full of courage and resolution, endured without a murmur the painful operations which his wound rendered necessary, and I had the happiness of seeing him restored to health and to his country. He is now French consul at Trieste.

Two years ago, on my arrival from Italy, I brought Lafayette news of his friend Masclet, who was then French consul at Nice. "Masclet," said he, "is a most excellent man; he loves me sincerely, and I shall never forget his persevering efforts to rescue me at the hazard of his life from the prisons of Olmütz." Some

months after my return, he was informed of the violent death of Madame Masclet, occasioned by a fall from a carriage. The first thing which he said to me on the subject, was,—“ Poor Masclet must be very wretched ; he has just lost an admirable wife : it would be far better for him that he had died.” Towards the end of last November I transmitted to Lafayette a letter from our friend Mademoiselle d’Herville, in which she informed him, in the language of the bitterest grief, of the death of Masclet, whose last words had been for him. The news occasioned him the deepest affliction, and he afterwards said to me,—“ Mademoiselle d’Herville is a person as distinguished for her excellent heart as for her talents. I sincerely pity her, and sympathize in her affliction ; she has within a short time received the last sigh of three men* whose old friendship was dear to me. She has need of consolation : I will write to her.” He accordingly addressed to her the following letter.

“ I am deeply affected, my dear Madam, with the regret felt by us in common for the loss which we have to deplore, and with the touching manner in which you describe the cruel event. You are aware of the friendship entertained for me during so many years by that excellent man Masclet, and of his numerous claims upon my gratitude. All that his attention and ability effected for us during our captivity is beyond expression. In the midst of my affliction, it is consolatory to reflect that when he heaved his last sigh he was near you, who were so worthy to receive it. I long for the moment when

* Gohier, Lethière, and Masclet.

we can speak of him together, and of other friends whose existence you have embellished, and the pangs of whose departure you have soothed. Your kind letter, of the value of which I am so sensible, was long in reaching me. We have suffered other sorrows, too, and especially the loss of Augustin Perrier, the father-in-law of my grand-daughter Natalie Lafayette. A friend of more than fifty years' standing, M. de Pougeus, has just expired, like poor Augustin, of a sudden and violent fit of apoplexy. I preserve a lively recollection of my acquaintance with you, and a strong desire to increase it by all the tender sentiments of friendship, the cordial expression of which I beg you to accept.

“ LAFAYETTE.”

Mademoiselle d'Herville has had the kindness to place at my disposal the correspondence between Lafayette and Masclet, which I have already consulted, and to which I shall again be indebted in the course of my letters. The notes which she has confided to me, will mainly enable me to acquaint you with the relations existing between these two men, who were so worthy of each other by their unalterable friendship.

LETTER IV.

PARIS, September 11th, 1834.

IN order that you may correctly appreciate the friendship that existed between Lafayette and Masclet, allow me, Sir, to recapitulate the principal facts connected with the arrest, captivity, and deliverance of the victims of Olmütz.

After the fall of the constitutional throne, (August 10, 1792,) Lafayette, proscribed by the National Assembly, was obliged to quit the army and the country. On the 19th of August he passed the French frontier with Generals Latour-Maubourg and Bureaux de Pusy, the latter an officer of engineers. All three had been members of the Constituent Assembly. He had also brought with him about twenty officers, who would have been persecuted had they remained with the army after his departure. Alexander Lameth, his colleague at the last-mentioned assembly, and who was also proscribed, proceeded to join him. He was arrested with Lafayette, but fell sick and obtained his liberty, when the other prisoners were transferred from Magdeburg to Olmütz. In the environs of Rochefort, which was neutral ground, they met with a patrol of Austrian Hussars. M. de Pusy was sent to the commanding officer of the detachment to inform him that his friends and himself, being proscribed in France, wished to seek an asylum in a neutral territory; that their intention was to embark for

the United States ; and that, in virtue of the law of nations, they claimed the right to pass freely. The officer of hussars paid no attention to their demand, and in spite of their protest they were detained prisoners. Some weeks afterwards those who were not members of the Constituent Assembly were set at liberty, and those who were, were conducted to Luxembourg, to Wezel on the Rhine, and thence transferred in a cart to the prisons of Magdeburg, next to those of Neiss, and finally to Olmütz. The regard due to the character of refugees, so religiously observed by the people of antiquity, was thus violated by the cabinet of Vienna, with respect to these unhappy exiles, as it was at a later period by the British cabinet in the case of Napoleon.

As soon as the news of Lafayette's arrest became known, your countrymen felt the liveliest interest in the circumstances of a man who had devoted himself to their cause ; and, with one common accord, they took the most active measures to obtain his release. Through the medium of its ambassador, Mr. Pinkney, the American government kept up an unremitting negotiation with Lord Grenville in London. In 1793, Mr. Marshal was sent by the President of the United States to the King of Prussia, but his application failed, and in 1794, when the prisoners were transferred into Austria, the American ambassador Jay was equally unsuccessful. President Washington himself wrote a pressing letter to the Emperor, entreating him to permit Lafayette to retire to America, on such conditions as it might please his Majesty to dictate. The court of Vienna was inexorable. Mr. Morris, formerly ambassador from the United States, was unable even to transmit to Madame La-

fayette a letter, enquiring after her health and that of the prisoners. The Americans had offered any sum that might be exacted for Lafayette's ransom, and had remitted large sums for that purpose to two of his aides-de-camp in London, but for five years, neither official applications nor private solicitations obtained attention, and their secret attempts were baffled.

Joseph Masclet, of whom I am about to speak,—a man of noble disposition and rare merit,—was born at Douai. His father, who was by no means favoured with fortune's gifts, had nine children, whom he found some difficulty in educating. Joseph, the eldest of the family, was placed at Douai College, where he soon distinguished himself, and obtained a *bourse** for the College of Louis-le-Grand in Paris. It was at the latter institution that he became possessed of the attainments which rendered him one of the most learned men of his time. He was acquainted with almost every language, ancient and modern. He was an excellent Greek scholar, and deeply imbued with a taste for the beauties of antiquity. Unfortunately, the revolution and his emigration diverted him from the career of literature for which he was intended by nature. He had just terminated his long and arduous studies, when the revolution broke out. Guided only by the patriotic feelings of impetuous youth, he determined upon embracing the life of a soldier, and became aide-de-camp to the Count de Valence. His political opinions, though ardent, were governed by prudence, and, in consequence of this circumstance, a

* *Bourse*, a privilege granted by the government to a certain number of pupils, whereby they enjoy the advantage of receiving a gratuitous education.

fanatic of the day surnamed him, *the warmest of moderate people*. His principles, in which he ever remained firm, attached him at a later period to Lafayette.

During the reign of terror, Masclet was at Strasburg with his General and the Duke d'Aiguillon. One of his friends wrote to inform him that he was proscribed, and recommended him to make his escape as speedily as possible. To save his life, he went to England, where he met with M. de Talleyrand, and several other emigrants of distinction. M. de Talleyrand, who had formed the design of proceeding to America, expressed a wish to be accompanied thither by Masclet, and the latter was about to consent to the proposal when he became acquainted with Madame Zornlin,—a widow lady whose maiden name was Wilson,—and married her in four months after their first interview. This union altered his intentions as to travelling, and induced him to remain in England during the stormy period of the French revolution. It was at that period that he undertook the task of liberating the prisoners of Olmütz.

Masclet was not personally acquainted with Lafayette, and had never even seen him; but he shared his political principles, and admired his virtues. He was indignant at the perfidious conduct of a government which, contrary to the rights of nations and the laws of humanity, detained such a man a prisoner; and still more indignant against his own country, which permitted such an action, or rather forgot the most virtuous of her citizens. Having retired with his wife to a country residence in the neighbourhood of London, he constantly wrote against the detention of Lafayette, and published numerous articles in the *Morning Chronicle* and in the *Dutch*

and Hamburgh journals. He had adopted the Greek name of *Eleutheros*, (freeman,) with which he signed his writings in favour of Lafayette. No difficulty—no danger—could deter him from the pursuit of this virtuous and patriotic undertaking. He connected himself with the opposition members of the British Parliament, and associated, in his plans for Lafayette's deliverance, the friends in whom he reposed most confidence. He made the people of England speak out in reprobation of France, who was indifferent to the unjust captivity of the first of her citizens, and of his noble family, who had buried themselves along with him in the dungeons of Olmütz. Masclet, who, as I have just observed, had obtained the assistance of active and intelligent agents, ultimately succeeded in establishing a correspondence with the prisoners, which, though not regular, acquainted him with their situation, their mode of life, and the ill-treatment to which they were subjected. He was informed of the steps taken by them to obtain justice, and of the denials of that justice; which were always founded on sophistical reasonings, whenever their tyrants condescended to give a reason for their refusals. They declared that "Lafayette's existence was incompatible with the safety of the present governments of Europe." No other motive for her unjustifiable conduct could Austria allege.

Throughout his long and perilous undertaking, Masclet was inspired merely by humanity, justice, and superior reason. The undertaking was really perilous,—for Austria, exasperated at finding no supporter in the British parliament, and at seeing herself unmasked before the eyes of Europe, which was gradually roused to

indignation by the scenes of Olmütz, had sent several emissaries to London, to discover the Eleutheros who braved her anger, reiterated his complaints, assumed every form, and multiplied himself, as it were, to obtain the justice which he demanded in the name of the rights of nations and of humanity. But the efforts of the Austrian cabinet were ineffectual to discover Eleutheros. To justify her act, Austria endeavoured to persuade Europe of the kindness with which she treated her victims, and she accordingly published a manifesto, enumerating her humane proceedings towards them. Masclet published a vigorous refutation of the manifesto, and revealed the whole truth, stating the different circumstances which you will find in General Latour-Maubourg's narrative, transcribed at the end of my letter. The refutation was supported by a letter from M. de Noailles, a relative of Madame Lafayette.

In 1795 Barthélemy, who was then ambassador from France to Switzerland, had also made pressing applications to the ministers of the foreign powers in favour of the prisoners, and had been seconded by De Witt, the minister of the Batavian republic at Bâle. The most distinguished opposition members in England, Fox, Wilberforce, Sheridan, and at their head General Fitzpatrick, supported by General Tarleton, who had fought against Lafayette in Virginia, pleaded forcibly, and struggled courageously against the Pitt ministry and the calumniators of Lafayette and of his companions in misfortune. They were seconded by the publications of Masclet, and by those of the most illustrious writers in Germany. It was on the 16th December, 1796, that General Fitzpatrick, in the English House of Commons,

made that eloquent speech in favour of the prisoners of Olmütz, which produced so much sensation in Europe, and which terminated in the following motion :—" That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to represent to his Majesty, that it appears to this House that the detention of Generals Lafayette, Bureaux de Pusy, and Latour-Maubourg, in the prison of his Majesty's ally the Emperor of Germany, is highly injurious to his Imperial Majesty, and to the common cause of the allies ; and humbly to implore his Majesty to intercede in such manner as to his wisdom shall seem most proper for the deliverance of these unfortunate persons."

Immediately after his entrance into the citadel of Olmütz, Lafayette had been apprized that he would no longer be allowed to quit his dungeon ; that he was separated from the entire world ; that he would hear neither from his family nor from his companions in captivity ; that even his name would remain unknown in the prison ; and that in future, in the reports forwarded respecting him to the court of Vienna, he would be designated only by an appointed number. Madame Lafayette was at that time detained in the prisons of Paris ; she had seen her grandmother, Madame de Noailles, her mother, the Duchess d'Ayen, and her sister, the Viscountess de Noailles, perish on the scaffold ; and, but for the death of Robespierre, she would herself have shared the fate of her unfortunate relatives. Scarcely had life and liberty been restored to her, when she confided her son George to the care of General Washington, and provided with American passports, set out under the name of Motier, with her two daughters, for Germany. On arriving at Vienna, she obtained from the Emperor,

not her husband's liberty, but permission for herself and the two girls to share his dungeon. Before she reached the citadel, she was obliged to divest herself of all that she had brought to assuage the wretched condition of Lafayette, and was apprized that she should never be allowed to quit the prisons of Olmütz. Her health soon became enfeebled by the sufferings and privations of every kind which she endured. She demanded permission to proceed to Vienna for the benefit of medical advice, but was told that if she quitted her husband she could not again be permitted to see him. In a letter, couched in the most energetic and dignified terms, she declared herself resigned to die, as she was resolved to share the captivity of her husband to the latest hour of her existence.

Lafayette's escape seemed impossible. A Hanoverian, Dr. Bollman, and an American, named Francis K. Huger, by their noble self-devotion and their heroic attempts to effect his release—attempts which unfortunately failed,—had already given proof of the influence exercised over generous minds by the misfortunes of a great man, and of all that courage can risk for his liberation*.

Whilst France writhed under the reign of terror and anarchy, her leading men were little disposed to make an effort in behalf of the victims to liberty and legal order; but when tranquillity was in some measure restored, public opinion was displayed with renewed energy in favour of the prisoners. In public assemblages, in private conversations, and in the journals of

* Regnault Warin's "*Histoire de Général Lafayette en Amérique*;" M. de Ségur's "*Histoire de Frédéric-Guillaume*."

that period, the complaints made against the detention of the French at Olmütz were loud and reiterated. Our generals on the Rhine, and particularly Hoche, who commanded the army of the Sambre and Meuse, had on their part, and on more than one occasion, remonstrated against the detention of Lafayette. At last, when Buonaparte was enabled to negotiate in the tone of a conqueror for preliminaries of peace at Léoben, he, of his own accord, demanded the liberation of the prisoners, and shortly afterwards received a formal order to do so from the Executive Directory. General Clarke, in his interviews at Turin with the envoys of the court of Vienna, had already urged the applications of France on this subject. The French Government, aware of the inefficacy of these first steps, pressed for the deliverance of the prisoners by repeated decrees, and in despatches from the Minister of foreign relations, instructed its plenipotentiaries to observe to the cabinet of Vienna, that "the time had at length arrived for a categorical explanation; that the prolonged detention of the prisoners of Olmütz, after the promise of their enlargement, naturally led to a suspicion that the court of Vienna believed in the possibility, and even the probability, of a rupture; that the speedy liberation of the prisoners was the most unequivocal pledge which his Imperial Majesty could give to the French Republic, of his desire to bring to a happy issue a negotiation that essentially interested the welfare of both nations and the tranquillity of Europe."

The same steps were continued after the 18th Fructidor. Barras was one of the Directors whose letters were the most pressing on the subject of the liberation

demand by all France. Towards the end of July, 1797, the court of Vienna sent General the Marquis de Chasteler to Olmütz, to offer their liberty to the prisoners on the part of the Emperor, but on conditions which all three refused, on the 25th of the same month. The following was Lafayette's declaration:—

“ Olmütz, July 25, 1797.

“ The commission with which the Marquis de Chasteler is entrusted, appears to me to reduce itself to three points:—1st. His Imperial Majesty wishes to have a statement of our situation at Olmütz. I am disposed to present no complaint to him. Several details will be found in my wife's letters transmitted or sent back by the Austrian Government; and should his Imperial Majesty not consider it sufficient to reperuse the instructions sent from Vienna in his name, I will willingly furnish the Marquis de Chasteler with all the information he may desire. 2dly. His Majesty the Emperor wishes to be assured that immediately after my liberation I shall set out for America. That intention I have often expressed; but as an answer would, under present circumstances, appear like an acknowledgment of the right to impose on me such a condition, I think it inexpedient to comply with the demand. 3dly. His Majesty the Emperor and King, has done me the honour to announce to me, that as the principles which I profess are incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he cannot consent to my return to his States without his special permission. There are certain duties, the fulfilment of which I cannot decline; I have some towards the United States, I have others towards France,—I cannot, under any circumstances, shrink

from the performance of those which I owe to my country. With this reservation, I can assure General the Marquis de Chasteler of my fixed determination never to set foot in any State subject to his Imperial Majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

“LAFAYETTE.”*

And yet Lafayette had been languishing for five years in a prison, in a state between life and death. He had lost all his hair, and had several times nearly fallen a victim to fevers of the worst description. If sufferings

* The following is the original :—

“Olmütz, 26 Juillet, 1797.

“La commission dont M. le Marquis de Chasteler est chargé, me paraît se réduire à trois points.

“1^o Sa Majesté Impériale souhaite faire constater notre situation à Olmütz. Je suis disposé à ne lui porter aucune plainte. On trouvera plusieurs détails dans les lettres de ma femme transmises ou renvoyées par le gouvernement Autrichien ; et s’il ne suffit pas à sa Majesté Impériale de relire les instructions envoyées de Vienne en son nom, je donnerai volontiers à M. le Marquis de Chasteler les renseignements qu’il peut désirer.

“2^o Sa Majesté l’Empereur voudrait être assuré qu’immédiatement après ma délivrance, je partirai pour l’Amérique : c’est une intention que j’ai souvent manifestée ; mais comme dans le moment actuel, une réponse semblerait reconnaître le droit de m’imposer cette condition, je ne pense pas qu’il me convienne de satisfaire à cette demande.

“3^o Sa Majesté l’Empereur et Roi m’a fait l’honneur de me signifier, *que les principes que je professe étant incompatibles avec la sûreté du gouvernement Autrichien*, elle ne veut pas que je puisse rentrer dans ses états sans sa permission spéciale. Il est des devoirs auxquels je ne puis me soustraire : j’en ai envers les États-Unis, j’en ai surtout envers la France, et je ne dois déroger en quoi que ce soit aux droits de ma patrie sur ma personne ; à ces exceptions près, je puis assurer M. le Général Marquis de Chaste-

and privations of every kind,—if the dampness of his dungeon and the infectious air which he breathed had deeply impaired his constitution, these destructive causes had effected no change in his moral courage. Notwithstanding the gradual decline of his physical powers, his soul seemed to have acquired greater force and energy to brave the persecutions of his jailers. In the midst of his misfortunes he was never abandoned by his coolness or his presence of mind. Thus, when, after his attempt to escape, he had been retaken and brought back to Olmütz, he was at first confined in a spacious apartment; soon afterwards an officer requested him to pass into an adjoining room. “For what purpose?” asked Lafayette. “That your irons may be put on,” replied the officer. “Your Emperor has not given you such an order,” said the illustrious prisoner, in a tone of firmness and assurance; “beware of doing more than he requires, and of displeasing him by exceeding his orders through an ill-timed zeal.” Struck with this observation, the officer reflected and insisted no further; and if Lafayette was spared the appalling and humiliating torture of being ironed during the remainder of his captivity, he was probably indebted for the exemption to his answer, which was an appeal both to the justice and to the severity of the emperor. Sometimes, too, he found means to beguile his sorrows with a repartee. One day the officer on guard, who was present during his meal and who saw him obliged to eat with his fingers, asked him if that mode was not new to him. “No,” replied

ler que ma détermination invariable est de ne mettre le pied sur aucune terre soumise à l'obéissance de sa Majesté Impériale, le Roi de Bohême et de Hongrie.

“LAFAYETTE.”

Lafayette, coolly, "I have seen it employed in America amongst the Iroquois."

Louis de Romeuf, formerly aide-de-camp to Lafayette, arrived, after some difficulty, from the army at Vienna. He had been sent by Generals Bonaparte and Clarke to have a direct explanation with the Baron de Thugut, the prime minister of Austria. After much negotiation, the minister at last consented to the liberation of the prisoners, on condition "that the American consul at Hamburgh would promise to do his utmost to engage them to quit the territory belonging to the imperial jurisdiction within ten days after their arrival at Hamburgh, to which city they were to be escorted." Romeuf gave an account of his mission to Generals Bonaparte and Clarke, and also to the Director Barthélemy. He obtained the promise asked of the American consul, and was at length enabled, after fresh difficulties, to announce that on the 23d September, 1797, Lafayette and his friends had been set at liberty. The prisoners passed through Germany to Hamburgh, under the escort of an Austrian major, and were handed over by the imperial minister to Mr. Parish, formerly consul for the United States.

During these negotiations Masclet had not remained idle, but had continued, by his writings and otherwise, to support, encourage, and stimulate the zeal of the defenders of Lafayette. The latter took the first opportunity of addressing to him the following letter:—

" TO CITIZEN ELEUTHERE, PARIS.

" Wittmold, near Ploën, 9th Brumaire, year 6.

" How is it possible, my dear friend, that since the period of our deliverance you have not yet received the

homage of my gratitude, and the expression of my sincere friendship? M*** must have explained to you that my delay in writing could have proceeded only from the hope of enjoying a happiness still greater. I am far from renouncing that happiness; I have need of it more than ever, and I demand it from you with that feeling of confidence which you have given me a right to express. I am not apprehensive of abusing that right, and it is gratifying to me to use it. I forbear to speak of my obligations towards you, my dear friend: the question relates to more than my own liberty and my own life, since my wife, my daughters, my two friends, and our faithful domestics have been resuscitated along with me. How many other obligations to which my heart is incessantly alive should I not still have to recapitulate, were I to endeavour to portray my gratitude; but it is inexpressible—inexhaustible—like your friendship—and I should feel delighted to thank you by pressing you to my heart.

“You have had news of our deliverance, of our journey, of our health: that of my wife in particular is so bad that we have been forced to stop in the nearest place of safety. To have embarked even for a short voyage would have caused great injury to some of our party. Travelling by land, after the first eight days, would have been uncertain, and my wife would have been unable to bear it without undergoing a degree of fatigue that would have been dangerous in her exhausted situation. We therefore purpose to settle for some time in a very isolated retreat between Kiel and Ploën. That territory is subject to the King of Denmark, and his connexion with the Republic will, I trust, prevent

him from molesting French citizens whose principles may be displeasing to him, but whose only occupation will consist in the care of their health, and who, unfortunately, in their present position, can serve liberty only by their wishes.

“ You have doubtless been made acquainted with my opinion on the events of the 18th Fructidor, and I am aware that my opinion on that subject is not yours. Perhaps mine is influenced by my profound contempt for the counter-revolutionists, and by some regret at not having gone out at a moment when liberty of opinion and a bad tone of society would, it is said, have authorized a republican declaration. But I cannot deceive myself as to the nature of the measures that have been taken ;—as to the constitution that has been sworn, and which, by the way, is infinitely better than that which I was to have defended ;—as to the personal characters of several of the proscribed parties ;—as to the declaration of rights, which, waiving all considerations of an author’s self-love, shall always form the rule of my opinions and conduct ;—finally, as to the principle, in which I have been confirmed by experience, that liberty can, and ought to be, assisted only by means worthy of her. If I deceive myself, in my disapprobation of these measures, the fault is not mine ; I have been enabled to form a judgment on them only by means of some apologies and public papers ; and in frankly laying before you the sentiments of the most republican heart that ever existed, I most ardently desire to hear from you the reasons which have induced so sincere and so enlightened a patriot as yourself to form a different opinion.

“ Our first act of liberty at Hamburgh was an act of respect to the representative of the Republic, an account of which he must have forwarded to the government. We have written to Bonaparte in the midst of his triumphs, and to Clarke in the midst of his reverses, for both have considerable claims upon our gratitude. But as it appears to us that the official tribute ought to be addressed to the minister of foreign relations, the first organ of the government in taking the steps which have released us from captivity and death, we have written to Talleyrand, as the natural depository of our acknowledgments, as the individual to whom we owe an account of our existence in a foreign country, and as joining to his ministerial claims that which he possesses upon our personal gratitude. We trust that by these three steps taken by us at Hamburgh, in Italy, and at Paris, we have fulfilled all suitable duties and formalities. The pleasure of our deliverance is augmented beyond measure by the idea that we owe it to the triumphs of the Republic, to the kind feelings of our fellow citizens, and to the zeal of our best friends ; amongst whom you are acquainted with one whose abilities are as superior as his heart is excellent—one for whom I feel the most affectionate regard—whom I ardently long to embrace—to whom I have a thousand things to say, and a thousand questions to put—and whom I shall cordially cherish till my latest breath.

“ LAFAYETTE.”

Some time afterwards, at the beginning of the year 1798, Masclet set out for Holstein, whither Lafayette had retired with his wife and two daughters. It was at

a country-house near the little town of Ploën that these two men met for the first time. Language would be inadequate to describe the feelings of both on this commencement of an actual acquaintance, on thus seeing and hearing each other, after the events that had taken place. At the age of seventy-three, Masclet still wept when he spoke of the interview, which he called the happiest moment of his existence. He often declared—for he liked to talk of that moment—that whilst the meeting lasted, Lafayette kept his eyes intently and constantly fixed upon his countenance. A short time after the acquaintance had been formed, Lafayette wrote the following letter to Masclet.

“ The regret I feel at your absence, my dear Masclet, even exceeds the desire I had to know you. The happiness of your acquaintance has surpassed even the impatience which I felt to see you. My heart is gratified with the idea that you quitted us with reluctance: it will follow you everywhere, and I hope you will not forget the rendezvous in Holland. Louis takes our packets to you: I am going to chat with him on the road from Ploën, and I will write to you by the opportunity that will shortly occur. George would refuse to fold my note, unless I spoke to you about him. Adieu, my dear friend, I love and embrace you most cordially.

“ LAFAYETTE.”

“ 18th Ventôse, year 6.” (March 8th, 1798.)

Lafayette's friendship for Masclet was not cooled by time. Thirty years after his liberation, he said to the latter, in one of his letters—“ I have written to Victor

Maubourg, my dear Eleutheros, with the same feeling as if my letter had been dated from Olmütz thirty years ago, and each subsequent year has but strengthened my attachment for you."

The minutes of Masclet's letters, correspondence, demands, applications and protests, on behalf of Lafayette—minutes which I have perused—are so numerous that to read them with attention would occupy more than a month. After contributing so powerfully to the deliverance of Lafayette, Masclet continued with unabated zeal to occupy himself with the interests of his illustrious friend, against whom France was still closed. He was again obliged to exert himself to obtain the removal of the sequestration put upon the property of Lafayette, who was unable to return to France before the end of 1799.

After Lafayette's liberation, Masclet entered upon public duties, and devoted himself with zeal to the welfare and the wants of mankind, as has been proved by his agricultural labours, and by his improvements in political economy, in every country in which he resided, and especially at Cosne, and Douai, where for a length of time he held the situation of Sub-prefect. At Edinburgh, he was presented with the freedom of that city. After the revolution of 1830, he was appointed French consul at Nice, where he died, on the 7th of October, 1833, at the age of 73.

Both Masclet and Lafayette were united until death by ties of indissoluble friendship. A few hours before he expired, Masclet spoke with the tenderest regard of Lafayette, who during his last illness frequently

pronounced his friend's name. It would be difficult to say whether the man who was capable of feeling such a friendship, or the man who was worthy to inspire it, was the more to be admired.

After his liberation Lafayette, though in a foreign country, was actively occupied with the fate of his friends and companions in misfortune, of whom he invariably thought before thinking of himself, in the steps taken by him, and in the applications addressed by him to the then existing government. Soon after he had forwarded one of those applications to the Directory, he wrote as follows to Masclet :—

“ I should be inexpressibly gratified if the Directory would decide upon my request presented by Adrienne, and would either admit that the companions of my departure could not but follow their general in chief, who alone was responsible—or else erase their names quietly from the list of proscribed, should that course seem preferable. As to myself they might as well proclaim me—I will not say as an emigrant, for that would be too absurd—but as a proscribed individual ; they might accuse and even condemn me, subjecting me to all the rigours of the 19th Fructidor*, but at the same time tolerating me in the Batavian territory.” In many of his letters to Masclet and other friends, Lafayette expresses the same wishes.

On the 20th Pluviôse, year 8 †, the first consul ordered the French army to wear mourning in honour of the memory of General Washington, one of the most illustrious founders of American liberty. Fontanes pro-

* Year 5 (5th September, 1797).

† 9th February, 1806.

nounced a eulogium on that great man, on the altar of the temple of Mars*, and yet in his speech, remarkable as it was for eloquence, and for the expression of elevated sentiments, he ventured not to pronounce the name of Lafayette, though inseparable from that of Washington! George Lafayette, who had but recently quitted the American General, was in France at that period, and had the mortification to find that he was not invited even to witness the solemnity intended to honour the memory of the man whose home had been his asylum, and who had guided his infant steps during his father's captivity at Olmütz! When Lafayette was at length enabled to revisit his native country, he retired to Lagrange, where he indulged in the taste for agriculture which he had first imbibed during his stay in Holstein and Holland.

Permit me now to say a few words on Lafayette's two companions in captivity: you will perceive that they were worthy to share his misfortunes, and that subsequently to their liberation, the friendship which united them in adversity was but strengthened with years. Lafayette had the regret to witness their deaths, and the sorrow which he felt at their loss abandoned him only in the grave.

General Latour-Maubourg, the oldest and dearest of Lafayette's friends, was constantly associated with him during the revolution, and at the separation of the Constituent Assembly, served as camp-marshal with the army which he commanded. He followed Lafayette after the 10th August, 1792, was taken prisoner along with

* The church of the Hôtel des Invalides.

him, and would never allow those interested in his fate to take the slightest step in his behalf that might have disunited his cause from that of his friend, with whom he remained five years in captivity, separated from his wife and six children. In concert with Lafayette and Bureaux de Pusy, he refused to sign an unconditional promise not to return to Austria, as he made a special reserve in favour of the rights which France had upon his person,—a reserve that prolonged his detention by two months. The following was his declaration :—

“ General Chasteler, in acquainting me with his Imperial Majesty’s intention of restoring me to liberty, having added that he is instructed to demand of me in writing—1st, if my detention has been aggravated by private ill-treatment, or if my complaints referred merely to the inconveniences inseparable from state prisons ; 2dly, to what point I intend to direct my steps on obtaining my release ; 3dly, an engagement not to return to the States of his Imperial Majesty without his express permission :—without admitting that the Austrian government has any legitimate authority over my person ; without acknowledging the right claimed by that government over unarmed French subjects utterly unconnected with the affairs of the provinces by which its sway is recognized, I have thought proper to declare, and I do hereby declare,—

“ 1st. That I have received no ill-treatment, either in word or deed, from the persons appointed to act as my guards, and that such persons could not have inflicted on me such ill-treatment with impunity. Still, I add that, with the exception of the captain at present doing duty

in the state prisons, the greater part of the officers who have filled his post have discharged their duty with a degree of rudeness and carelessness, the natural effect of which has been to expose the prisoners to privations of every kind: and as, from the period of General Spleny's arrival, those officers have been subjected to little control, or perhaps have received orders to observe the line of conduct adopted by them, the consequence has been that, from the month of October, 1794, the period of General Arco's arrival, to the month of January, 1797, when the Count de Mac-Elliot was attached to this service, I was exposed to a degree of neglect and absolute privation which excited even the Count's surprise, and which he has since repaired as far as was compatible with his instructions.

“ Unacquainted with the regulations of state prisons, I am unable to determine whether the treatment that I have experienced for the last three years is conformable to them. But what has transpired with respect to the régime of the Bastille, so justly held up to execration,—what I have read in the public journals during my detention in Prussia, on the subject of the regulations adopted in the French prisons under the barbarous reign of the Marats and the Robespierres of the time—even my rigorous captivity in Prussia had not prepared me, when in the power of a prince whose humanity and virtues have been so emphatically eulogised, to undergo an excess of severity which I should have believed impracticable but for the lengthened and cruel experience which has convinced me of the contrary.

“ 2dly. As soon as I shall obtain my enlargement, my intention is to proceed to Hamburgh, where I shall

await such news from my family as may enable me to adopt a decisive resolution, and where I shall remain till my impaired health may be sufficiently restored to enable me to carry that resolution into effect.

“ 3dly. I here renew with pleasure the engagement which I have so often made with myself, never to travel, reside, and still less to establish myself in the hereditary States of his Imperial Majesty. Nevertheless, a thousand circumstances may prevent the execution of my intention of proceeding to the United States of North America; and, to deprive the Austrian government of all pretext for treating me a second time as a prisoner of state, for having fulfilled the duties of a good citizen, I consider it necessary to make an exception to this engagement,—and I do hereby make a formal exception in favour of the very improbable case in which the service of the country that I may have been obliged to quit, and that will always be dear to me, or the interests of the country which I may have chosen, and which may have sheltered me, shall impose on me the imperious necessity of infringing my engagement.

“ LATOUR-MAUBOURG.”

“ Olmütz, July 25th, 1797.”

When Latour-Maubourg recovered his liberty at the peace of Campo Formio, he, as well as Lafayette, settled with his numerous family in Holstein, and returned to France after the 18th Brumaire, year 8*. He was a member of the senate, and afterwards a peer of France, and always sat amongst the liberal opposition in the upper chamber. He died May 28th, 1831, of an in-

* November 9th, 1799.

flammation on the chest. M. de Maubourg had two brothers; General Latour-Maubourg, formerly governor-commandant of the Invalids, and M. Charles Latour-Maubourg, who married the eldest of the Mademoiselles Lafayette.

Bureaux de Pusy who was a distinguished officer of engineers before the revolution, was one of the deputies of the Constituent Assembly, over which he presided when the king was received there on the 4th of February, 1790. He had a considerable share in the division of France into departments, and also contributed to the new organization of the army, and to the framing of the military code. In pursuance of the decree depriving the members of the Assembly of all claim to promotion, he joined Lafayette's army simply as a captain of engineers, and in 1792 was entrusted by him with a mission to Marshal Luckner. Having been denounced by the Jacobins, he was summoned to the bar of the Legislative Assembly in the month of July in the same year, when he confounded his accusers, and those of Lafayette, in a speech equally remarkable for its eloquence and its boldness. After the 10th August, 1792, he quitted France. He had been recently married, and was on the point of being blessed with offspring when he was arrested with his two friends, in whose captivity and sufferings he shared. I now proceed to transcribe the declaration made by him in the prisons of Olmütz.

“ General the Marquis de Chasteler, having called upon me in the name of his Imperial Majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary, to state the subjects of complaint that I may have either against the individuals

appointed to act as my guards, or against the rigours of imprisonment which I may have suffered in addition to that occasioned by the necessity of securing my person, I answer that, being ignorant of the amount of the precautions and the severities judged necessary by the court of Vienna, to ensure the detention of a prisoner of state, I can reply to the question addressed to me only by making a faithful report of the hardships that I have found most galling in the treatment which I have received since my stay here. I accordingly declare that from the 18th May, 1794, to the present period, I have not been permitted for a single instant to quit the chamber in which I was confined on my arrival; that being deprived of any other exercise than what may be taken in that chamber, I have enjoyed only as much fresh air as I have been able to breathe across the double grating with which my window is furnished, and that most frequently the noxious and unwholesome quality of that air, renders it a punishment rather than a relief. I declare that out of a small number of books which I brought with me, about twelve volumes have been taken from me, on the ground that their contents were suspicious; that I have been deprived of nearly the same number of maps, most of them relating to America, and of all the letters from my family which I received in Prussia through the government of that country, and that none of these articles have been restored to me.

“ I declare that during the first fourteen months of my detention at Olmütz, I was permitted neither to hear from nor to transmit any proof of my own existence to my relations, who I knew were in the power of the Jacobins in France, and who were compromised because they had

the misfortune to belong to me. I declare that a servant whom, on quitting Luxembourg for Wesel, I was allowed without any demand on my part to take with me, was separated from me on my arrival at Olmütz; that I again saw him only six weeks afterwards, and then but for a few minutes; that I afterwards saw him every fortnight for nearly an hour each time, and finally that for the last twenty-one months he has daily passed three hours in succession in my chamber. I declare that I have been constantly denied the use of pen, ink, paper, pencils, compasses, and other instruments of that description, and that for eight months; from the end of November, 1794, to the end of July, 1795, I have been deprived even of a slate which served me for my calculations and mathematical studies. I declare that I have been deprived of a number of the most ordinary and the most indispensable conveniences of life, such as a watch, scissars, razors, knife and fork, &c. I declare that for several months I have suffered from the wretched state of my clothes. To say the truth, I have abstained from applying for any, not because I suspected the government of wishing to refuse me necessities, but in the first place, because my clothes spoke for themselves, and in the next place, because I preferred the privation to a humiliating discussion, such as I had been obliged to enter into on the only occasion when I touched upon the question with the officer who then acted as my guard, Major Shermack, a man of harsh and coarse disposition, incapable of appreciating the simplest attentions due to men of delicacy, whose pride is always in proportion to their misfortunes. I declare that with the exception of the said Major Shermack, I have no complaint to

make against the different officers with whom in succession I have been brought into contact; and moreover, that I seize this opportunity of publicly testifying my gratitude to Count Mac-Elliot, at present charged with the police of the prison in which I am detained, for the polite attention which has invariably characterized his proceedings towards me.

“ The Marquis de Chasteler having besides informed me, that the termination of my imprisonment depends upon a previous engagement on my part, never to return to the States of his Imperial Majesty without his express expression; I declare that I joyfully enter into an engagement not only never to set foot in any of the States of his Imperial Majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary, but never even to solicit permission to do so. At the same time I expressly except from this engagement a case of military service, in the event of a war between his Imperial Majesty and any power which may afford me an asylum: for I neither can nor will on any account dishonour myself, by placing it out of my own power to fulfil the first duty of a citizen towards the State which may extend to me the protection attached to that title.

“ BUREAUX DE PUSY.”

“ Olmütz, July 25th, 1797.”

After the recovery of his liberty, Bureaux de Pusy remained for some time at Hamburgh, and in Holland, and then proceeded to the United States, whence he returned only after the 18th Brumaire, year 8*. He

* November 9th, 1799.

successively became prefect of the departments of the Allier and the Rhone ; and the city of Lyons preserves a grateful recollection of his administration. The territory of Genoa having been united to France, he was sent as prefect to that city, where his conciliatory talents were of the greatest service. A revolt, which might have been attended with the most serious consequences, was appeased by his influence alone. The journey which he took on that occasion greatly injured his health, which had already been much impaired, and he died in 1807.

LETTER OF GENERAL LATOUR-MAUBOURG,
WRITTEN FROM OLMÜTZ.

“ My letter having through some mistake remained in my hands longer than I expected, I shall endeavour, my dear friends, to turn the delay to account, by attempting to give you a precise idea of our situation, and I shall annex a plan of our abode, executed very badly, but yet as correctly as possible without the necessary instruments. In all the dungeons you will remark a piece of furniture not generally placed in bed-chambers ; and as we take our meals between this piece of furniture and the bed, you may conclude that we seldom or never stir beyond our doors, and that the genius of the Imperial administration has thought of every thing that can render our seclusion absolute. Do not suppose that I have made a mistake in lodging the domestic from Paris in two chambers which are large, handsome, and the best in the enclosure, whilst General and Madame Lafayette have but two small cells, their

daughters but a narrow dog-hole, with a single wretched bed; and whilst Pusy and myself, in addition to the common inconveniences, have those attached to the neighbourhood of the guard-house and of the privies, the dampness of which is such, that the wall touching them is covered with saltpetre. Nothing can be more correct than my description of these arrangements, which afford a proof, for the thousandth time, of a systematic plan to harass us even in the slightest matters.

“*Situation of the Prisons.*—The building composing the prisons is an ancient convent of Jesuits, transformed into an immense barrack. The dungeons, which are vaulted above and below, have a southerly aspect. They are on a level with the corridor, which is itself on a level with a large, square court surrounded with lofty buildings, and from which there is no other issue than a large vault, the door of which is closed after the beating of the tattoo; and under which is stationed, night and day, a guard of thirty or forty men, whose principal duty is to allow no persons ingress or egress, without compelling them to undergo a scrupulous examination. Towards the south the dungeons are as high as the first story, and the windows look upon a terrace or sort of elevated rampart, at the bottom of which commences a meadow that descends with a gentle slope to one arm of the Morawa, which flows at the distance of about a hundred paces from us. Beyond this river the ground rises for about three hundred paces, and terminates in works for the defence of the town, in the interior of which is a causeway, and an exercise ground for the garrison, and outside of which runs the Morawa. The whole of this space between us and the first works

is filled with wooden magazines, in which gunpowder and other artillery stores are constantly deposited. There are also two guard-houses, which command a view of us, and furnish several sentries, whose orders are not only to observe us, but to keep a strict watch over our two sentinels stationed upon the terrace.

“ This elevated position at one extremity of the town, exposed to the south, and commanding a view of the country, ought to be agreeable, airy, and salubrious ; but you will presently judge if this promise has been fulfilled. The waters with which we are surrounded furnish, in addition to a multitude of flies that are extremely troublesome, frequent fogs, which occasion dangerous fevers, and to which the town of Olmütz owes its reputation for unwholesomeness. Besides, the arm of the river nearest to us, has appeared, from its sunken position, so favourable for receiving and carrying off the filth of the town, that all the gutters meet at that point, first passing beneath our windows, with openings at certain distances, which being negligently covered with a deal plank, always emit an insufferable stench, and which at such times as they are left entirely open on account of the men at work in them, exhale a mephitic vapour that is absolutely pestilential. The morning and evening air by no means dissipate these noxious vapours, because the houses of the town, extending on the right and left in form of a semi-circle, allow us to breathe only the air of the south, which in summer is scorching, in winter impetuous, and which drives towards us all the impurities collected on its way, as it were into a funnel whence there is no issue. I

must add, that our nearest neighbours are, on the right, the military hospital, on the left, the town hospital; from the latter, however, we are separated by one or two canons' houses, the gardens of which join our terrace, closed on that side only by a partition of planks. Opposite to the entrance of our barrack, on the other side of the street, there is another, filled with soldiers, like this.

“*Furniture.*—Our prisons, without excepting even that of the ladies, are furnished with a sorry bed without curtains, two deal tables, two chairs, a range of wooden pegs, a wardrobe, and a stove, which is lighted on the outside. As on our arrival we had a number of effects and books, an addition was made to this general furniture to accommodate Lafayette, Pury, and myself. This addition consisted of a deal chest of drawers, without a lock, and some shelves for our books. The drawers might now be removed, for every thing that we brought is in rags, and nothing has been replaced.

“ If you measure the plan by the scale which I have annexed to it, you will perceive that the external walls are six feet, and the separation walls four feet thick, and that both are built with the solidity which characterizes the works of the monks of every country in the world. The aperture of the windows, which is four feet in breadth and eight in height, opens in four divisions, the upper ones being shut by a padlock, so that air is admitted only by an opening four feet square: that opening is still further obstructed by a double iron grating, the bars of which form meshes of about six inches, and as these latter do not correspond, they render

it impossible for those on the outside to distinguish our features. The doors are double: the first is shut with a single lock only; but that which opens into the corridor, and which is two inches thick, shuts in the middle with a lock, and above and below with two enormous padlocks. The whole are opened at eight o'clock in the morning for breakfast, at half-past eleven for dinner, at two o'clock for the removal of the plates, dishes, &c., &c.; and half an hour before night for supper. Pusy's servant and mine dine along with us; but for two years Lafayette has not seen his. You will observe, that the Mademoiselles Lafayette are confined in a separate part of the building a quarter of an hour before the arrival of supper: they are thus forced either not to sup at all, or to sup too soon; and the days, which begin to shorten, oblige them to quit their parents a little sooner every day, so that before long they must remain eighteen hours in solitude, by way of doing penance for the happiness of remaining with their father for five or six hours. Last winter they remained in his apartment till nine o'clock; but the court no doubt thought the indulgence too great. When the inclemency of the season renders it necessary to warm the guard-houses, the prisons are also warmed. Fires are lighted twice in the twenty-four hours; at five o'clock in the morning, and at four in the evening. If the fires burn badly, or go out altogether, which not unfrequently happens, so much the worse for the prisoners.

“*Guards and surveillance.*—The surveillance and command in chief of the guard, are confided to the major of the place and to a lieutenant of the garrison, who, once entrusted with this commission, performs

no other duty, and can be changed only on account of sickness, or of being forced to march in case of war. The major is permanent. The lieutenant is always chosen with great care, so that the prisoners can scarcely hope to obtain from him any essential services; but we have had several who in trifling matters were tolerably obliging and polite. The lieutenant at present on duty might be reckoned the coarsest of human beings, but for his major, who in brutality surpasses his comrades the gaolers, the negro-drivers in the Antilles, and the slave-drivers in Constantinople. Under these two amiable chiefs, is an old corporal honoured with the title of *prévôt*, very stupid and very timorous, but also very covetous. Such is the staff of this Bastille, to which might be added, the very dirty soldier who is specially entrusted with the task of bringing us our meals and sweeping the corridors, and who has no other duty to perform.

“ The interior guard is composed of thirty picked men, commanded by two corporals; they relieve each other every two days, so that there are always fifteen privates and a corporal on duty. The guard furnishes five sentinels day and night, three in the corridor and two on the terrace, who are ordered to attend to every thing that we do, to give an account of the same immediately, and to reply to none of the questions that we might venture to address to them. Those on the terrace are particularly charged to summon the corporal immediately, should we speak from the window to our neighbours. Poor Felix, who was caught in the very act of so doing, was immediately put upon bread and water, and for three months his windows remained closed. No individual, whoever he may be, unless on

duty, is permitted to enter the corridor, the door of which can be opened only by the sentinel stationed on the inside. The doors of the prisoners are opened only at stated hours and in presence of one of the two officers, who is obliged each time to obtain the enormous bunch of keys from the commandant-general, and to return them to him himself. If during these intervals one of the prisoners were attacked with an apoplexy, a hemorrhage, or any other accident requiring immediate assistance, the unfortunate man must perish. The prisoners are served only in succession, so that two prisons are never open at a time. During this ceremony the guard is under arms and in military array inside the corridor, in front of the door opening on the court, but which remains closed. The sentinel nearest to the prisoner in whose apartment the attendants are, places himself in front of the door, his firelock across the opening, whilst another soldier, with a drawn sabre in his right hand, holds the door with his left. Whilst the meal is being placed on the table, the officer and the prévôt remain in the chamber, examine if every thing is in its usual place, and particularly inspect the stove and the grating of the window. This visit takes place four times daily. I know not where the soldiers sleep when not on guard, but it must be somewhere near us, since a respite of twenty-four hours from duty does not liberate them from their surveillance, and because, should any *accident* happen, they would be just as responsible for it as their comrades on duty. By way of compensation for this painful and constant attention, they, as well as the two corporals, the prévôt, &c., receive double pay. In addition to these precautions, or-

ders are given with respect to us at the guard-house in the court of the barrack, and at the two others in the works opposite to our windows; and moreover the soldiers lodged in the barrack, some of whom occupy the chambers above us, are assured of a récompense should they denounce any omission or negligence on the part of our sentries.

“The meadow under our terrace, and which on ordinary occasions is a walk, and even a convenient and well frequented thoroughfare, is forbidden to all who are not obliged to be there on military duty, as for instance, the artillery officers and soldiers. Our dim lamps are lighted at the hour of supper, and must be extinguished at nine o'clock, in order that we may have plenty of time to calculate the length of the winter nights; and since our arrival we have been deprived of the matches which were at first given to us, to enable us to procure a light in case of indisposition.

“*Regimen, &c.*—Hitherto you perceive that we have had none of the conveniences promised by the Emperor to Madame Lafayette. It is probably a great honour to be his Majesty's guest, particularly in a prison; but the thing is really no laughing matter. It must be admitted, however, that at the hour of our meals we excite the envy of our hungry gaolers of every degree, although to us those hours are the most disgusting in the whole day. The breakfast is of chocolate, or coffee with milk, at the prisoner's option, and both are execrable, as you may well imagine when you are informed that they are made by a vivandière in a low canteen, into which the soldiers from the barrack enter at pleasure, and where their whole time is spent

in smoking. It thus happens that every thing eaten by us is impregnated with a strong savour of tobacco, and we are even fortunate when we do not find large pieces of that weed in what is given to us. Our dinner is served up in deep earthenware dishes, all of the same shape and size. I know not if the ladies (who, paying^d their own expenses, may ask, I believe, for what they wish) find any difference in the alimentary regime, but they can certainly discover none with regard to the article of cleanliness, as every thing comes from the kitchen of the same *vivandière*, whose execrable ragouts, rancid butter, and spices I might forgive, were she herself less dirty. To fill up the measure of disgust, every thing—meat, soup, vegetables, fricassees—must be eaten with a pewter spoon, without knife or fork, and had we not brought napkins along with us, some fragments of which still remain, the sleeves of our coats must have served us for that purpose. At first both our wine and water were set before us each in bottles, and we drank out of glasses. This was an indulgence of which, at the time, we were not fully sensible, but the loss of which we have had to regret ever since; for the mere purpose of vexing us, two pint jugs have been substituted. They are brought to us full, one of coarse, flat, red wine, the other of dirty water, and we must drink out of both, because, as it was explained to me, ‘the Emperor chooses it.’ You will conceive the disgust inspired by these jugs, when I add, that when removed from our chambers they are placed in the windows of the corridor, where they are exposed to insects, dust, tobacco smoke, and what is still worse, left for the use

of the soldiers, who drink out of them, and perform their ablutions in them. They are cleaned only at stated periods, at the beginning and in the middle of each month, with a wisp of straw.

“ From all these details, my dear friends, you will perceive that as a relief from our vexations, which are the more annoying as they have not even the semblance of utility, and to diminish the tedious length of the days, we have no other resource than reading, to which we consequently devote much of our time. But as the favour done to us of lending us books has been subject to much vicissitude, I shall resume this history from the first day of our arrival. You have been apprized that we were deprived of our watches, razors, silver covers, and of all our trifling conveniences, even to the knives used by us for scraping off powder. In Silesia we had been allowed the use of paper, pen, and ink ; but at the mention of this our gaolers were greatly astonished ; and they bestowed an abundance of contemptuous epithets on the want of intelligence displayed by the Prussians in tormenting their victims. We might have certified that the Prussians were tolerable adepts in the niceties of the trade, but we still hoped to pique our gaolers on the point of honour. This hope vanished when we were deprived even of the letters which we had received from our relatives and friends, and when we were informed that we were separated from the rest of the world, that we must forget our own names, and recollect only our numbers ; and that we should never hear each other spoken of,—a promise which was but too well fulfilled, and the execution of which was occa-

sionally baffled only by the zeal and intelligence of Felix and Jules, who are the agents of our communications. This first operation terminated, our books were next inspected ; every work printed subsequently to 1789 was, as a matter of course, proscribed, even to the ‘ Imitation of Jesus Christ.’ With regard to older printed books, Paine’s ‘ Common Sense ’ and Rousseau’s ‘ Social Contract ’ were first seized ; and the proscription was natural enough, as the conduct of our gaolers was a direct violation of the principles of those two publications. Helvetius was confiscated because, as they asserted, his works had spoiled the heart of the emperor Joseph II. The commandant having opened an abridgment of the History of Greece, fell in the course of a very few lines upon the words ‘ liberty ’ and ‘ republic ’, and nothing that I could say was allowed to save the volume ; it was irrevocably lost to us, as well as a number of others, for reasons equally cogent. Finally, at the expiration of three weeks, the minister, to whom a *procès verbal* of our installation in prison had been forwarded, issued an order to deprive me of the ‘ *Liaisons Dangereuses*, ’ a romance written by Laclos, and the ‘ *Observations sur l’Histoire de France*, ’ by Mably, neither of which works have the slightest reference to the revolution. So deeply conversant are all these inquisitors with the literature of France, that they have left me the ‘ *Histoire Philosophique et Politique* ’ of the Abbé Raynal,—a work full of bold passages and liberal reflexions. You may easily imagine that they have made similar blunders with my two friends. At the expiration of a few days, a list of French books belonging to a public library was brought

to us. I was likewise furnished with the catalogue of a bookseller who lent out German works. Of this privilege I was allowed to avail myself only for four months, and during that time I could never procure any new work, nor any of those written by M. d'Archenholtz, which I always noted at the head of my list. As to the French books, you are aware that most of them were worth but little; but the library of which I have spoken can boast the possession of the Encyclopedia, Bayle, the complete works of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. All these we have already perused, and we are now reading them again. The whole of the Encyclopedia has passed through our hands: its most interesting divisions we have entirely finished, so that this precious resource is daily losing its value. During the winter which followed Lafayette's escape, we were wholly abandoned to the melancholy ideas excited in us by the ill success of his attempt. I was at that period deprived altogether of German books, and in the French catalogue I marked about thirty volumes. The 'Letters of Patin,' for which I had not asked, were brought to me, and during the whole winter I could obtain no other books than those two volumes, which might perhaps be still in my possession, but for the illness of the major, and the death of General Arco, who ordered, or at least authorized, these petty vexations.

"You ask how we are dressed?—like beggars; that is to say, in rags, since our worn-out clothes have not been replaced. Lafayette however wanted breeches, and I have been informed that a tailor was ordered, without taking his measure, to make a large pair of

trowsers for him, and a waistcoat of coarse serge, at the same time informing him that cloth was too dear for him. I believe that the garment alluded to was purposely made in such a manner as to prevent him from wearing it, and that Madame Lafayette supplied the deficiency by purchasing cloth on some pretext or other. In the articles of shoes and stockings he is strangely provided, for those which he wears Mademoiselle Anastasia was obliged to make, with her own fair hands, out of the stuff of an old coat. For my own part, I wear a waistcoat and nankin trowsers made at Nivelles, and you may therefore judge of the state of maturity at which they have arrived. Were I to make my appearance in the street, any charitable soul would offer me alms. Three months ago, however, I was supplied with new shoes. The old ones had been soled and resoled thirteen times, and for the new ones I was indebted merely to the obstinacy of the cobbler, who found it utterly impossible to perform the operation for the fourteenth time. Whilst my shoes were being made, I was obliged to remain in bed."

LETTER V.

PARIS, September 25th, 1834.

IN reading General Latour-Maubourg's letter on the prison of Olmütz, a letter full of intelligence, elevation of soul, and generous feelings for Lafayette and his family, you must have seen, Sir, that the writer has spoken of two prisoners designated only by their baptismal names, Jules and Felix. I intended to add a note to acquaint you with their characters, but not having done so, I feel bound to repair an omission which might have consigned to oblivion the names of two men, whose conduct has been exemplary under the most trying circumstances.

Jules Grugeon, General Latour-Maubourg's servant, voluntarily followed his master from prison to prison, and displayed the utmost devotion towards him, as well as the other prisoners, during the captivity inflicted on them in common. He is still alive, and has established himself, I believe, as a *limonadier*.

Felix Pontonnier was attached to Lafayette as secretary, and was arrested along with him. He was then very young, as he had scarcely attained his sixteenth year. After his arrest, he was charged to look after the effects of the prisoners, from whom he was entirely separated for several days. He was no longer guarded, and might have escaped; but he was superior to such an act of weakness, and of his own accord he joined

Lafayette, to whom, during the whole of his captivity, he gave every proof of attachment and devotion. His intelligence and ability were always at work whenever any hope presented itself of accomplishing his protector's escape, or when the rigours of his captivity were to be assuaged. His inventive genius was constantly employed in discovering means of establishing a correspondence between the prisoners, in enabling them to acquaint each other with their respective situations, to communicate their thoughts, to deceive their gaolers, to send intelligence to their friends who were occupied with their deliverance, or to hear from them in return. He had composed a particular language known only to himself and the rest of the prisoners ; he had also conceived the idea of a language made up of gestures, and of the various expressions of the countenance, and the key to this language was possessed by the prisoners alone. On some occasions he whistled notes like a captive bird, with various modulations which intimated to the prisoners all that they were interested in learning. His health was often seriously endangered, and once especially, on being surprised in the commission of some supposed offence, he was condemned for three months to solitary imprisonment, in darkness the most profound, and allowed no other food during that period than black bread and water. Nothing could equal the devotion of Felix Pontonnier to the prisoners, except perhaps the gratitude that Lafayette and his children ever felt for this honourable and courageous individual. For many years he directed the agricultural labours at Lagrange, with equal probity and success, and afterwards established himself at Fontenay, (in

the department of Seine-et-Marne,) where he is now collector of taxes.

You must also recollect, Sir, that in the same letter Latour-Maubourg speaks of a certain corporal, decorated with the title of *prévôt*, and no less timorous than covetous. It has occurred to me that you will not be sorry to make a more ample acquaintance with this individual; for the melancholy part which he has played in the history of the victims of Olmütz, has transformed him from an obscure individual into an historical personage. The whole of Mademoiselle Anastasia Lafayette's time was not employed in attending to her poor mother, or in making clothes or shoes and stockings for her father. In concert with her younger sister she endeavoured to afford her parents every amusement that could relieve the sorrows of their situation. One day she sketched a portrait of the corporal on her nail, in order that, in case of a surprise, the drawing might not be seized, and to prevent the original himself from perceiving the sketch; for you may well imagine that the old fellow was not of a disposition to sit for his picture at full length. Mademoiselle Lafayette transferred her sketch to a sheet of paper, and afterwards, when she quitted the prison, made a copy of it, which is at present at Lagrange, near the door of her father's apartment. The following is a description of the old corporal. He is represented in the act of opening the door of the prison, which is towards the corridor, and which is secured above and below with cross bars provided with padlocks. His half bald head is uncovered; his few remaining hairs are collected into a little queue, which is ludicrously turned

aside over his shoulder*, and he advances with the stealthy pace of a timid individual who lends an attentive ear to some fancied noise. In one hand he holds a bunch of large keys, one of which he directs mechanically towards the lock; in the other is one of those beaked lamps which are much used in Germany, and



its dim light is reflected on his visage. A stick, which serves for self-defence or the chastisement of offenders, is attached to his wrist by a leathern strap; his little three-cornered hat is squeezed flat under his arm; his

* On this account, probably, the prisoners gave him the nickname of *Cataquois*. His real name was Colomba.

sabre is fastened to his side by a girdle ; his waistcoat, breeches, wide boots, and in fact the whole of his attire, shew that he is in undress, and his knees seem to bend, not so much under the weight of years as under the influence of cowardice. But enough of this poor devil, who like his general has long since departed this life. The sketch which I have annexed will give but a faint idea of him, in comparison with the original portrait, executed by a daughter who traced the features of her father's gaoler. We must now return to Lafayette.

In spite of the vicissitudes of his stormy and persecuted existence, Lafayette preserved all the mildness of his character. His temper was even, and in the intimacy of private life, no man's acquaintance was safer or more full of amenity. On quitting him, his friends were always certain of again finding him the same. His domestics he treated with a degree of uniform kindness which won their hearts : they were entirely devoted to him, and served him with a zeal which needed no stimulus. These feelings of kindness towards inferiors, which dignify him who practises them, and which can lower him in the estimation only of the foolish or the vicious, were innate in Lafayette, and the fact will appear evident from the following anecdote. A short time before the revolution of 1789, Lafayette was walking in the grand gallery of the Château de Chavaniac in company with a gentleman of his neighbourhood, with whom he entered into conversation on the subject of the future emancipation of the people of Auvergne. The discussion was interrupted by the arrival of the peasants of his farm, who proceeded to offer him some nosegays and cheeses, which they presented on bended

knee, in the attitude of deep submission and respect. "Look there," said the gentleman, "see how little disposed these peasants are to receive your boasted emancipation: depend upon it they think but little of the matter." "Well, well," replied Lafayette, "a few years hence we shall see which of us is right." Some years afterwards the revolution broke out; the rights of the lord of the manor were abolished, and the gentleman was obliged to save himself from the fury of the peasantry by flight, but they continued to respect Lafayette, who had always treated them as a father, and never as a master.

I shall now proceed to lay before you my recollections of Lafayette's mode of thinking on matters relating to society in general: they may be found interesting both to the moralist and the philosopher. If on certain points I have given an incorrect interpretation to his ideas or his feelings, the fault is mine, and I beg that you will set me right. You can easily do so, for after all that I have said of his private life, you may have seen that Lafayette was perfectly consistent with himself, his opinions and his conduct having constantly been based on what was noble, just, and honourable. I will frankly admit that, as far as the application of his opinions is concerned, I did not on every point share those of the man for whose character I profess so much admiration. A number of ideas, which are noble and generous in theory, may be practically inapplicable. Thus it would be absurd to bestow on an old and worn-out state of society, which seems falling into ruin from excess of civilization, like fruit in a state of decomposition from excess of maturity, the institutions which are

suitable for a young and new people, like that of America, whose civil and political existence commences with all the elements of civilization, and may take from them what is good, rejecting what is destructive or pernicious. Such proceedings would be as ridiculous as to apply to an old man's case, the rules of medicine or the remedies suitable for a child. In my opinion, worn-out societies must be purified by the suppression of their abuses, by the eradication of their vices: they must thus be regenerated gradually, and if possible without any violent shock. This will prove the only mode of revivifying them, or at least of supporting them till they have attained such a degree of improvement as may enable them to support themselves.

A really philosophic physician, who is sensible of the lofty mission which he fills among mankind, and who is worthy of that mission, will not blindly follow the opinions, or espouse the passions, of the parties into which society is divided. He looks upon man as unconnected with the scenes of the great world; he views him lying on a bed of pain; and the greatest sufferer is the being in whom he feels most interested. The physical and moral infirmities of the human species are constantly before his eyes. Quitting the splendid palace, he makes his way to the obscure abode of wretchedness; and in places so different he still finds the same man,—the suffering creature who implores his assistance, and to whose relief he has devoted his existence. His intimate relations with all classes of society, enable him better than any other to observe, to know, to judge, and justly to appreciate the human race, the best qualities of which are not always presented to his view, and which perhaps he observes

too closely: but though he may lose some agreeable illusions, he is at least enabled to see mankind as they are. Calm in the midst of the revolutions around him, he has only to deplore their sad results for the vanquished, to soothe the anger or the arrogance of the vanquishers, to lament the calamities which follow in their train, and to remedy them as far as lies in his power. Being a minister of peace and union amongst men who have confided to him their dearest interests, their lives, and often their honour, he has only to console, and assuage their sufferings; and if he can exercise any influence over them, it will be exerted to moderate their passions, to bring them back to reason, to justice, to a spirit of toleration, to all that he deems most advantageous to themselves and most conducive to the general welfare. His own ambition is to distinguish himself by his disinterestedness, by his abnegation of self, when the community is desolated by epidemic maladies; by his devotion and courage in relieving or healing the wounded on the field of battle; by his charity; by his severity towards the vices, and his indulgence for the weaknesses of mankind. Such, in my opinion, ought to be the character, the duties, and the real patriotism of a physician.

Lafayette would have desired to make but one great family of the whole human race, and to induce mankind on moral considerations to regard and treat each other as brothers. These are the sacred precepts of the Gospel, so much spoken of, so much admired, and so little practised! He was of opinion that every man is born with inalienable rights, such as liberty of opinion, the right to defend his honour and his life, the right of

property; the free disposal of his person, his industry, and his intellectual faculties; the right of communicating his thoughts by every possible means; the right of seeking his own happiness, and of resisting oppression. He looked upon men as the children of one common parent, enjoying equal claims to the benefits of civilization, and bound to submit to common laws; but he also thought that all should render back to society what they borrow from it in advantage, or in security. It was thus, if I mistake not, that he understood liberty and equality amongst men. He thought that the distinctions necessary for the maintenance of social order should be founded only on general utility. "For my part," wrote he to the Bailli de Ploën, "as I feel persuaded that the human race was created to enjoy freedom, and as I have been born to promote the cause of liberty, I neither can nor will shrink from the participation which it has been my fate to take in this great event; wherever I have been able, and especially in my own country, I concurred on principle in all the enterprises undertaken against an illegitimate power which it was necessary to destroy, and I now declare to you that in 1787 and 1788 the resistance of the privileged classes,—of the leaders of the aristocracy,—had as much of the true character of faction as any other insurrection that I have since witnessed."

Men can never forget that they have been created citizens of the world, whatever may be the country that has given them birth; they must consequently remember that they owe their services, not only to their countrymen, but also to the other nations of the earth, which are but large families. Deeply sensible of these

sublime truths, Lafayette preferred his family to himself, his country to his family, and mankind at large to his country. In the moral sense of the term, there are no strangers for us, and man is every where at home. From this, however, it must not be concluded that man should degenerate into a wandering animal, roaming from country to country, and finding himself at home wherever society harbours and feeds him; but it may be inferred that every man who is worthy to form part of society should be received, sheltered, and protected by that society, whatever may be the race to which he belongs, or the country in which he may have drawn his first breath. Society has burthens which must be supported, and evils which, if they cannot be completely destroyed, may at least be mitigated. The burthens of society are principally the expenses of the government which it has chosen, to which it is bound to submit, of which it must necessarily form part, and which is charged to maintain its harmony, and to represent and defend it in the general political system. Amongst the evils of society may be designated beggars, who turn it to account in the name of charity, by touching the chords which vibrate most easily in good, timorous, or superstitious souls; robbers, and others of nearly the same stamp, who turn against society their culpable industry, or openly keep up a scandalous trade; incorporated sluggards, no matter under what denomination; idlers, who are merely consumers, who set an example of laziness, who corrupt society by their vices, who are a burden to it if poor, and a still greater burden if rich, on account of the evil use which they generally make of their wealth. Among such parasites, all the

germs of corruption are to be met with : therefore, as society cannot be delivered from them completely, it must use every effort to diminish their number as much as possible.

In the painful circumstances in which he was often placed, Lafayette never forgot that he was the friend of his fellow-creatures, and that he was bound to succour and protect them. The following is a letter which, in his exile, he wrote to the Directory :—

“ CITIZEN DIRECTORS :

“ Permit a citizen, who owes his liberation to the government of his country, now to avail himself of that obligation, to demand of you an act of justice. I am not about to speak of myself, and though my heart and my reason equally remind me of my rights, I appreciate the circumstances which keep me still at a distance from my country ; but in offering up my prayers for her liberty, her glory, and her happiness, I purpose to speak to you of the few officers who, on an occasion the responsibility of which belongs to me alone, thought themselves obliged to accompany their general, and were made prisoners by the enemy. Their patriotism, which has been tried from the beginning of the revolution, has been preserved in all its ardour and purity, and the republic cannot have more faithful defenders.

“ Salutation and respect,

“ LAFAYETTE.”

Shortly after his return to France, Lafayette said to his fellow-citizens of the department of the Haute-Loire :—“ I had renounced all pretension to my return

under the regime resulting from that day, (18th Fructidor*,) to which have succeeded the advantages, the hopes, and the engagements of the 18th Brumaire †. I then judged it expedient to put an end to my proscription; and having informed the provisional consuls of my arrival, and claimed the recall of my comrades in exile, the principal object of my solicitude, I awaited the erasure of our names from the proscribed list, in the retirement to which I have devoted myself, and where, remote from public affairs, and enjoying the repose of private life, I form the most ardent wishes that peace abroad may speedily prove the result of the recent miracles of glory which have surpassed the prodigies of preceding campaigns, and that peace at home may be consolidated on the essential and invariable basis of genuine liberty."

During his last illness, Lafayette was much afflicted by the disturbances of the month of April. He daily inquired after two wounded individuals who were under my medical care, and warmly congratulated me when I was enabled to inform him that they were out of danger. One of my patients, M. Chalamel, adjutant of the 5th legion of the National Guard, had received a ball in the nape of the neck: the vertebral column had been touched, the spinal marrow disturbed, and the patient affected with paralysis of all his limbs. After severe suffering, his recovery was more speedy than I had expected. The second patient was named Hû: he was about six years of age, and was in the arms of his father when both were struck by several balls. The father

* Year 5. (4th September 1797).

† Year 8. (9th November 1799).

was mortally wounded, and the child's right elbow-joint was broken by a ball. The alarming nature of the symptoms which ensued compelled me to amputate the arm. The unfortunate child is now completely cured, and the government has granted, both to him and to his mother, a pension of 1200 francs.

No man was ever more friendly to public order, peace, and tranquillity than Lafayette; and at the moment of a stormy political crisis, he has ever been known to follow the straight line which he had traced for himself, whatever might be the danger of observing it. It might have been said of him, as Horace said of the wise man :—

“ Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.”

He was of opinion that the tumultuous movements of a misguided people served merely to retard their emancipation, and to counteract real liberty, whose existence is compatible only with order, and under the government of laws and public morals. “ Notwithstanding the part which I have taken in the revolutions of America and Europe,” wrote he to the Bailli de Ploën, “ the French consider me the defender of public order, and the promoter of liberty.” On the 14th July, 1790, he said to the members of the federation—“ Let ambition have no hold on you : love the friends of the people, but reserve your blind submission for the laws, and your enthusiasm for liberty.”—“ It is for them,” (the defenders of true liberty,) wrote he to M. d'Archenholz, “ that, in the sincerity of my heart, I bequeath to you the consolatory truth, that a single service rendered to

the cause of humanity, can afford more gratification, than the combination of all its enemies, and even the ingratitude of a people, can inflict pain."

Lafayette, as he himself said, had the instinct of liberty, which he loved passionately, and which he had defended even against the republic, though he desired to render himself worthy of freedom, even more than he longed to enjoy the blessing. He was aware that the real and the only liberty which is compatible with the interests of communities and of individuals, can have no enemy more formidable than licentiousness, with which some confound or affect to confound it. Liberty, in fact, is subordinate to reason, by which it is enlightened,—to immutable justice, by which it is supported,—and to conscience and a regard for the public welfare, by which it is directed. The liberty which is friendly to order and peace, never inflicts violence on the conscience of others, but prevents their actions from being at variance with the laws, and the welfare of the public. Lafayette was also aware, from sad experience, that the despotism of anarchy is the worst of all despotisms. He likewise knew that many are desirous of liberty and equality, in order to bring down their superiors to their own level, and not to elevate their inferiors: can anything be more characteristic than the following portrait which he sketched of the men placed at the head of the revolution after the 10th August 1792?—"Men whose venality has wearied every party,—men who have ever been base enough to kiss alike the hand which gives or smites,—men whose pretended patriotism was but selfishness,—avowed corrupters of the public morals,—the authors of protesta-

tions or projects against the republic,—souls of blood and filth, who have so often sullied that republic! and these are the leaders of a free nation! May the legislators of that nation restore to it a constitution, and legal order! May its generals prove themselves incorruptible!”—(*Letter to M. d'Archenholz.*)

Lafayette was of opinion that assemblages almost always form a sound judgment on the most important questions, especially on those immediately connected with the general interests of society. He was ambitious of securing the approbation of assemblages, though he knew by experience how ephemeral is the most substantial popularity, and with what facility the idol of to-day can to-morrow be crushed by the fickle populace. At the same time it may be asserted, that to obtain general approbation, he never disobeyed the dictates of his conscience, or of his conviction. After the revolution of July, his sanction was sought in favour of a measure of which he disapproved, and it was intimated to him that, by withholding his consent, he might lose his popularity, which at that period was considerable.—“I regard popularity,” replied he with dignity, “as a most precious treasure; but, like all treasures, its possessor must know how and when to expend it for the public good.” This sublime answer was characteristic of his soul.

Lafayette felt pity or contempt for such as allowed themselves to be oppressed without resistance, and horror for their oppressors. But his scorn was unbounded for such as basely sold their liberties, voluntarily bowed beneath the yoke, and purchased, by their shameless servility, the privilege of deriving importance

from the exercise of petty despotism. He observed, with truth, that such men humble themselves through ambition, as the avaricious sometimes, through covetousness, ruin themselves at play.

Lafayette's relatives were desirous of seeing him enter the household of the Count de Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.). For himself he had no such desire; but from respect and obedience to his relations he was reluctant to give a direct refusal to their wishes. He therefore sought an opportunity of inducing the Prince himself to decline his services, or at least of obliging his relatives to renounce their projects. The opportunity soon offered itself. Having met the Count at a ball, he recognized him at once under his mask, and entered into conversation with him, without allowing him to suspect that his disguise was known. In a smart and lively dialogue, the Count displayed his memory to much advantage, and Lafayette took occasion to interrupt him with a remark that "it was unnecessary to take so much trouble to prove that memory is the sense of fools." Some days afterwards both met at court; and the Count, having inquired of Lafayette if he knew the mask on whom he had been so severe, "Yes," replied Lafayette, "he who wore that mask now wears a green coat." The Count, who was actually dressed in a coat of that colour, turned his back upon Lafayette, and from that moment thought no more of attaching him to his person.

Lafayette's generous soul instinctively urged him to undertake the defence of oppressed minorities. In a letter which he wrote to the Bailli de Ploën, he said, "The same feeling which formerly led me to espouse

the cause of the French Protestants, has always rendered me the persevering defender of the oppressed faith." He considered the liberty of the press as one of the fundamental bases of all constitutional government: yet he was sensible of the abuse made of that liberty, and openly blamed it; but he thought that, like the violent passions of youth, the excess would in the end be moderated and checked by reason. In his opinion the establishment of a censorship was a remedy worse than the evil to which it was applied, as it tended to stifle thought. "What opinion", said he, one day, "would be entertained of the justice which, through an apprehension of insult, should gag the accused party, and prevent him from making any defence?" In 1799 he remarked, in one of his letters, "If our devotion to the liberty of the press encouraged unnecessary abuses, we at least took care, as may be seen from the writings of the time, that all parties should participate equally in such liberty; and happy had we been, could we as completely have protected the freedom of religious worship!"

As Lafayette had a high regard for men who devoted themselves to the welfare of their country, he was connected with the most distinguished philanthropists of the age, who combated for the instruction and enlightenment of the people, and in defence of their rights, against every species of oppression. "I congratulate you", said he, in a letter to Masclet, dated 2nd Frimaire, year 9*, "on your interview with Lord Holland: the manner in which, in 1790, he pronounced

* November 23d, 1800.

the name of his uncle Charles, would have sufficed to attach me to him; and since that period, he has amply deserved that his own name should be pronounced by every friend of liberty with the liveliest interest, and by myself with a feeling of the deepest gratitude." In his letters to Masclet he often affected to give the name of Jacobite to the Jacobin faction, with the intention of alluding to the Stuarts, whose name he employed to designate tyranny of every description. During his illness he was one of the first to read, "*Les Paroles d'un Croyant*," by the Abbé de la Mennais. "This work", observed he to us one morning, "is really the apocalypse of 1789. I could not have believed the Abbé de la Mennais a greater republican than myself. His book is well written, full of enthusiasm, and calculated to excite a sensation, and give some offence to the believers to whom it is addressed."

LETTER VI.

PARIS, October 5th, 1834.

IN terminating my last letter with Lafayette's opinion of the work of the Abbé de la Mennais, I should have added that his prediction as to the fate of the pamphlet is beginning to be realized, for it may now be said that few books have made so much noise in the world. It has been translated into almost every language, and has everywhere met with enthusiastic admirers, or violent opponents. But we must return to our subject.

Lafayette never placed his duty and his interests in the same scale. He invariably gave precedence to the former, to which his interests or his private affections were subordinate. "So many stupid remarks have been uttered by party spirit," said he to the Bailli de Ploën, "that it may not be out of place here to assert, that no private affection has ever diverted me from any public duty. In the course of three years of power, I encouraged none to speak well of me, I prevented none from speaking ill; and to explain my conduct with regard to the notorious characters of the revolution, it will be sufficient to verify their writings, speeches, and actions, at the same period."

In 1829 I was at the Count de Ségur's, in company with my respectable friend M. de Pouqueville, Madame de Malaret, M. de Chastellux, and some other friends. The Count had just paid his first visit to Charles X., at his Majesty's invitation, and had presented him with

a copy of his "*Mémoires*." On that occasion the King said to him, "M. de Ségur, I have read your '*Mémoires*' with the greatest interest. I have been delighted with the first volume, which so admirably retraces all the recollections of your youth, your courteous and benevolent feelings, our common levity, your voyage to America with General Lafayette. In the second volume I ceased to be altogether of your opinion, and in the third I wholly disagree with it. That volume is absolutely revolutionary, and therefore we differ. But M. de Lafayette is a perfect character:—do you know? I am acquainted with but two men who have always professed the same principles,—myself and Lafayette. He has been the defender of liberty, and I, as the king, of the aristocracy. I esteem him, and, should circumstances ever permit me, I shall feel great pleasure in seeing him again." During this interview, which lasted nearly two hours, the conversation having turned on the events of the 6th October, 1789, Charles X. said to M. de Ségur, "Yes, I should feel pleasure in again seeing M. de Lafayette: he is not to blame for the occurrences of October. He addressed himself to the King, and offered to save the royal family; and he would have done as he then said, M. de Ségur, but, on account of the deplorable prejudices entertained against him, his counsels and his services were rejected." The King afterwards entered into a long conversation on the situation of France. M. de Ségur was much pleased with the interview, and Charles X. invited him to repeat his visit frequently.

Lafayette was incapable of demanding anything like an undue indulgence, even for those whom he most loved; and with regard to acts of injustice committed

against the members of his own family, he lamented them, but without bitterness. Of this you may judge from the following fragment of a letter which he wrote to Masclet :—"The fracture with which I have been so long confined, has led to the most absolute retirement on my part, nor can I give you a better idea of it than by telling you that I have never laid aside the rustic costume which I have adopted at Lagrange ; so that, without being on a worse footing with my acquaintances, it has naturally happened that I no longer see them. You will now judge of my credit from the following circumstance. George was on the eve of being appointed to the rank of captain, and even the Emperor, before he went to Italy, had promised his promotion to Generals Grouchy and Canclaux, and to M. de Tracy. Since that period, my son has served as volunteer aide-de-camp at the embarkation at Helder, at Ulm, at Udine, and in the new war at Prenzlau, at Lubeck, at Eylau, where he had the good fortune to save his general ; and at Friedland, where Grouchy commanded the wing of the cavalry which routed the Russians only at the seventh charge. The promotion promised before all these events, and for which several applications had been made by the principal ministers and general officers, has been constantly refused, so that George, although the senior lieutenant of the division, has abandoned all idea of advancement. The peace will bring him back to us, as he is a volunteer : we expect him immediately."

In Lafayette's estimation, an aptitude for a military career had, like every other description of capability, a value proportionate to the grand object in view : *Datos*

ne quisquam serviat enses. But he avowed that he felt a peculiar vocation for the profession of arms. He had a sincere attachment for the national colours, and for the tricoloured flag,—“the symbol of emancipation and glory,” said he, “which Louis XVI. accepted from the hands of the nation, which his successor was proud to bear, and whose least title is, that it has floated on the walls of every capital, received the homage of every potentate, and for upwards of twenty years prevailed over the most powerful, as well as the most insignificant flags.”

Lafayette owed his first services to his country, which he adored, and for whose welfare and honour he was ever ready to sacrifice himself. Had the battle of Marengo been lost, he would have offered his services to Buonaparte, in defence of the independence of France; and he had even addressed a letter to him on this subject, which a confidential friend was instructed to deliver conditionally. The battle having been won, the letter was not forwarded. Nevertheless, the general-in-chief of the army of Italy was made acquainted with the step which Lafayette would have taken, had we been conquered. He one day spoke of it to the officers by whom he was surrounded, and could not avoid expressing his admiration of the patriotism of the man with whom he differed in opinion, adding, “which of you, gentlemen, could have done better?” At a later period, Lafayette voted against the consulship for life, or rather he was desirous of waiting till liberty had been founded on a basis worthy of the nation, before he voted for a permanent magistracy in favour of Napoleon.

In his exile, Lafayette's most ardent prayers were for

the happiness of his country, for the triumph of liberty, for a return to the principles of order, humanity, and justice, and for the establishment of a good constitution. He ever remained faithful to his principles of liberty and equality, and was the ardent friend of every constitution which afforded the best security for both, or which could present the strongest check to the revolutionary torrent. He called himself "the first,—the most obstinate defender of conventions." "When in my speeches", said he to the Bailli de Ploën, "I invited Paris to become the metropolis of the free world, my ambition was that she should prove an honour and an example to the world; but our hopes were blighted by brigands of all classes, and by pretenders to every kind of revolutionary advantage." He always recollected with pleasure the services rendered to France by the National Guards, and the numerous proofs of devotion which he had received from his companions in arms. "The revolution", wrote he, "had armed France, it was urgent to bestow on her an organization, and to that end the observations which I had made in America, and in several parts of Europe, were directed. The National Guard was instituted: this was the sole armed force which could maintain internal order without favouring military despotism, and by means of which foreign aggression could be repelled, whilst the ancient governments were reduced to the inability of defending themselves against us, unless they imitated us; or against their subjects, if they ventured to follow our example."

During his last illness, Lafayette frequently expressed his desire that his speedy restoration to health might permit him to resume his labours. He repeatedly

urged me with the greatest earnestness to allow him to go to the Chamber of Deputies, and particularly at the period of the discussion of the bill on the refugees, of that on the associations, and of that on the indemnity due by France to the United States. His condition forbade me to make any concession to him on this point; and it is but justice to declare that he always submitted with the docility of reason to the advice which I gave him in obedience to the dictates of my conscience. He thought that the Bill on the American Treaty, presented to the Chamber of Deputies by the Duke de Broglie, for whose personal qualities and abilities he felt a high esteem, was binding on the honour and the dignity of France; and that it was even her interest to discharge the claim, for he was persuaded that the fortune of the public, like that of private individuals, could be acquired or preserved only by honourable means, and that governments, like individuals, should never forget that, under all circumstances, good conduct is invariably the best calculation that can be made. He thought that if the American treaty were not concluded, our commerce would every year sustain losses far superior in amount to the interest of the capital claimed by the United States. Convinced of the goodness of his principles, he adhered to them with singular perseverance during his long and glorious career. In the midst of a fickle age, the elements of which have been at different periods shaken and utterly confounded together, this immutability gave him a character of antique grandeur, to which few could pretend. In fact, in the sanguinary dramas but too often represented in times of revolution, men show

themselves as they are. They pass before our eyes as in a magic lantern, display themselves in open day, permit themselves to be unmasked by their interest and their passions, and allow the moralist to analyse, to know, and to judge them. Thus the attentive observer may, whilst still young, become rich in facts, in practical maxims, and consequently in experience, which then ceases to be for him the science of age.

The most admirable quality in Lafayette was, that his principles and opinions were so conformable to reason, morality, and the general good of mankind, that he never had occasion to change them. Whilst young, he thought as though age had slowly matured his judgment; and towards the close of his life he sustained his principles with all the candour and vigour of his youth. He himself admitted his invariableness in the following letter, which he addressed in English to Masclet.

“Chavaniac, Thermidor 30th, Year 8 (Aug. 18th, 1800).

“I have been a long while without a letter from you, my dear Masclet. My whole family is now collected at this place, where my aunt had been for many years despairing ever to see us. It has been also for me a great satisfaction to present to her my beloved daughter-in-law, Emilie Tracy, now the wife of the happy George, and in whom I find every amiable quality my heart could wish for. I intend conducting the young couple back to Auteuil towards the middle of Fructidor, my return there being hastened by the news of the intended journey wherein General Fitzpatrick and Charles Fox are to meet at Paris. Lord Holland,

whom I had the pleasure to see before I came here, told me how well he was received by you at Boulogne. I need not tell you, my dear Masclet, that the little I can do in your affairs has been constantly attended to. Now I see a new constitutional organization : its merit with respect to public liberty it is superfluous in this letter to discuss, the more so as you know my political principles ; and, since Psalms have become fashionable again, I have a right to say for myself the *sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper*. But considering the new *arrêt du conseil* and *senatus-consultum* in a personal point of view, it seems to me there is an opportunity for promotion. You may, no doubt, be chosen on your legislative list of *arrondissement*. In the Tribunate there will be for a long while no vacancy ; but the nomination of many senators cannot fail leaving several prefectures to be disposed of. Should you intend to pay a visit to Talleyrand, I shall have great pleasure in seeing you ; and in the mean while I offer my best compliments to Mrs. Masclet, and to both of you those of the whole family. Most heartily I am, my dear Masclet, for ever,

“ Your sincere and grateful friend,

“ L. F.”

Lafayette never contracted an engagement except after mature reflection ; but his promise, once given, was never broken. In general, his determinations were self-dictated, for he allowed himself to be little influenced by others. Of this you may judge from the following passage of a letter, which he wrote to Masclet shortly after quitting Olmütz.

“Pardon me if, whilst laughing at your neat quotation, I also laughed a little at your supposition that D—— has obtained a control over my thoughts and actions, which no being in the world has ever influenced. I have remarked, on the stage of public life, that if malevolence often attributes prompters to the principal actors, warm friendship does the same: we prefer imputing to a third person a friend’s idea, in which we do not participate, or which we blame; but the present case has not even probability in its favour. Besides, you know that I felt reluctant to employ him for our interests, not on his own account, as I willingly accepted his services, but on account of MM. * * *, whom he will never give up. If his kindness has been attended with some inconvenience, it is not when he is unfortunate that I ought to notice the circumstance. I have now only to receive him well, to say all the good that I know of him, to recollect his zeal for me, which, in spite of his other connexions, I believe to have been sincere; and to be of service to him if I can: but were my nature more easily influenced than it is, rest assured that I should never be guided by a friend of the * * * society.”

Lafayette was extremely scrupulous on every point relating to probity and honour in public affairs. “It seems to me useful, in the infancy of a republic,” wrote he to Masclet, “to attach the idea of genuine liberty to pure characters. Let us remember that whilst the French Hercules reposed in the bosom of Danton and Robespierre, Larochefoucauld and Lafayette were crushed in his name. The *victrix causa diis*, &c., is, you say, unpopular and dangerous. It was the same

at Rome. Cato did not triumph; the despots and anarchists hated none so much as him, and the best and greatest citizens reproached him with his inflexibility. But their complaisance emboldened Cæsar and cherished Octavius; and the shade of Cato armed Brutus, and was invoked by all who attacked tyranny or regretted the republic."

Lafayette prized good sense above wit, and in politics preferred the useful and the solid to the temporarily brilliant and shining. There never was a man whose anxiety for the public good was more exempt from every species of personal ambition. He refused to accept either compensation or emolument from the commune of Paris, declaring at the same time that he attached as little importance to his refusal as to his acceptance. We are informed in the "Memoirs of Bouillé", that he declined the several appointments of Marshal and Constable of France, and even the Lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom. Under the empire he refused a seat in the senate. "I had a right," said he, in a letter to the Bailli de Ploën, "to anticipate the happiest results for liberty, and consequently my ambition was satisfied. As soon as the opening of the legislative assembly had finally established the new order of things, I quitted, as I had always announced my intention of doing, the extraordinary situation to which the necessities of liberty and the affection of my countrymen had raised me. I retired into the country, where I had drawn my first breath, at the distance of a hundred and twenty leagues from the capital, in order to enjoy peacefully, and in the bosom of my family, the purity of my recollections and the philanthropy of my hopes." No

other description of ambition than a desire for the happiness of mankind entered into his views. In adopting the principles of the revolution, he was exempt both from cupidity and the spirit of intrigue. He wished merely to be a good citizen, and a soldier of liberty, should it be necessary to combat in her defence. "It may be thought", wrote he to Masclet during his exile, "that another mode of life might render me for the moment more useful, or that, no longer having it in my power to be useful, I ought to think only of myself. I think so little of reserving a chance in my own favour, that at the very moment when I was in opposition to the republican government of my country, I took care to cut off my retreat towards monarchical modifications; and though I refuse to purchase the liberty of returning to France by the slightest deviation from my principles or my feelings, I frankly admit that in a state of exile I cannot be happy. After my public career of twenty years in both hemispheres, I am fit only for two things, the one an active, the other a passive existence. The latter bears a strong resemblance to a state of death, as it consists merely in preserving an irreproachable example of the true doctrine of liberty. The former must suppose a case in which republican leaders, enjoying some portion of power, and feeling the necessity of adding to it the greatest possible portion of national confidence, might at length be desirous of establishing the republic on a just and solid basis. To such a design I would cordially contribute my contingent, such as it is, of good principles and good fame, on condition of never becoming more than a simple citizen. The hope of thus serving liberty and my country would be to me

an additional motive to preserve undiminished the species of moral power attached to my personal character; and should this hope prove illusive, as it is the only one which I can call my own, I have only to balance the individual advantages of fortune or tranquillity with the benefit which the public may still find in my passive state of existence. You thus see that, independently of my natural and insurmountable feelings, I ought, as a matter of calculation, to permit myself no indulgence on this point."

Lafayette's soul was tormented by the desire of good; and perhaps he had not always sufficient patience to await the results which time only can produce. He was sometimes like a young physician desirous of hastening nature, or the effect of his remedies, in order that his patient might be the sooner restored to health. "Ah, Sir," wrote he from the prison of Magdebourg to M. d'Archenholz, speaking of the necessity in which he had been placed, of exiling himself after the 10th August, 1792, "how great are my obligations to you for having sympathised with the inexpressible pangs of my soul,—ardent in the cause of humanity, thirsting after glory, tenderly loving my country, my family, my friends,—when after sixteen years' labour I was compelled to tear myself from the happiness of combating in defence of the principles and the opinions for which alone I had lived!"

Political, like religious opinions, when emanating from conscience and conviction, are always respectable; but when assumed by the hypocrite or the ambitious man merely as a mask to deceive his fellow men, and to render them subservient to his passions or his interests,

such opinions, how excellent soever the cause with which they are connected, cannot save the adopter from the scorn of the honest portion of society. Lafayette had a high esteem for many who were far from sharing his political opinions, but whose character he could justly appreciate. Thus, for instance, he esteemed and felt pleasure in seeing M. de Marcellus, whose way of thinking was diametrically opposite to his own ; and he felt convinced that M. de Marcellus entertained the same feeling towards him, for he was persuaded that mere opinions could never sully the character, or detract from the consideration due to those by whom they were conscientiously and sincerely professed. In the present age, it is pretended that every thing ought to be understood, appreciated, and materialized,—even to the faculty of thought, the soul, and the most sublime sentiments that actuate mankind. Nevertheless, at the bottom of every heart there is a voice which proclaims that something exists beyond what is known,—that the sphere of human intelligence is bounded ; but this voice is stifled by self-love, or rather by the false dread of passing for weak ; and many are ashamed of feelings and opinions that should form their brightest ornament. “ Independence of thought, and the awful sentiment of pure natural religion may rise superior to doctrines of belief, but it is nevertheless true, that no human power can place itself between the divinity and the heart of man. The first duty of him who acknowledges another revelation than that of his conscience, is to observe in peace the form of worship which that revelation prescribes ; and to such a man, the worst of taxes is the payment of contribution to a mode of worship which he

regards as sacrilege.”—(*Letter of Lafayette to the Bailli de Ploën.*)

Lafayette's disposition was open to hope, and this he admitted in a letter addressed by him to Masclet, and dated August 27th, 1828. “I think,” said he, “that the expedition to Greece has been undertaken with conscientious and liberal views. France no longer follows in the wake of England, and she now occupies a place above the latter in the career of generosity and liberality. You see that I am disposed to look at the bright side of the picture; but my disposition, as you know, leans to the side of hope, and it gives me pleasure to think that we are beginning to quit the beaten track, as to do so will be for the interest of the whole world.”

Lafayette derived happiness from the anticipation of good which was not always realised. In a letter dated 14th Brumaire, year 8, (6th November, 1799,) he wrote as follows to Masclet: “We now, my dear friend, perceive the dawn of a better order of things:—the coalition broken up, the councils again entertaining ideas of liberty and justice; Buonaparte, Moreau, Sièyes, and other patriots, uniting their efforts to terminate the revolution for the benefit of mankind, and to obtain respect and regard for the republic. These events render me extremely happy, and I am certain that you always think of your absent friend.”

Lafayette was aware that success can often be obtained by evil means, and he would explain those means in conversation, though he regarded them as dishonourable, and would never consent to put them in practice.

He thought that the end could never justify the means, when the latter were not based on morality and justice. For this reason he was not a pessimist in revolution, and he was averse to pushing an opponent to extremities with a view afterwards to profit by his faults and obtain a mastery over him. "Besides," said he to the Bailli de Ploën, "although, in pointing to the first tricoloured cockade, I publicly declared that it would make the tour of the globe, my wishes for the emancipation of nations were never sullied by an idea at variance with their independence."

In the "Memoirs of Count de Montlosier," will be found some conversations between Lafayette and Mirabeau, which aptly characterize both. Mirabeau having recommended violent measures to Lafayette for the execution of his plans, the latter indignantly exclaimed, "M. de Mirabeau, it is impossible for an honest man to employ such means." "An honest man!" replied Mirabeau; "Ah! M. de Lafayette, it seems you wish to be a *Grandison Cromwell*: you will see to what that amalgamation will lead you." At another time, Lafayette said to Mirabeau, that he was aware that the latter had laid a plan for his (Lafayette's) assassination. "What!" replied Mirabeau, "you believe such things, and I am still alive! Good easy man! you wish to play a part in a revolution!" During the days of October 1789, Lafayette proceeded to Versailles to maintain public order and defend the life of the sovereign, which was threatened by the fury of the populace. As he crossed the apartments of the château, amidst the crowd by which they were filled, one of the

courtiers exclaimed, "*There goes Cromwell.*" "Cromwell," replied Lafayette, turning to the courtier,— "Cromwell would not have entered here *alone.*"

Under every form of government Lafayette was opposed to what are called *coups d'état*, which he thought contrary to every principle of justice. The following are the terms in which he expressed himself in a letter addressed by him to Masclet, and dated 25th Frimaire, year 6. (15th December, 1797.) "Observe, my dear friend, that the first newspaper which fell into our hands on our release from prison, informed us in a summary manner of a violent and unconstitutional aggression against the two chambers of the legislative body; of the transportation, proscription, and expulsion of 188 representatives of the people and two Directors, the whole without a formal accusation and without a trial; of the exclusion of forty-nine departments from the benefits of a legislature which continues to make laws binding on them; finally, of the destruction of the liberty of the press, and the adoption of arbitrary measures against the journalists. Be it observed, too, that amongst the persons banished and excluded are men whom we love and esteem; and to complete our conviction of the good faith of the triumphant Directors, their president officially proclaimed that I had betrayed my country! Recollect, that it was neither through tenderness for the Bourbon family, nor through devotion to royalty, nor through blind ignorance of the conduct and intentions of the aristocracy, that on the 10th August, 1792, I sacrificed myself to the doctrines of liberty which I have always professed, and to that invariable principle of my policy—that every deviation

from justice is injurious to liberty, and that my declaration of rights admits of no exception. You may judge, then, my dear Masclet, what were my prejudices when I arrived at Hamburg. There I found some apologies for the events of the 18th Fructidor; (4th September, 1797;) but the greater the ability with which they were written, the less was I inclined to become a convert to their doctrines. It was in fact to the apologies of the opposing party that, contrary to their intention, I was indebted for the knowledge of the provocations, the intrigues, and the detestable tone of society, which have disquieted some excellent citizens for the public welfare, and certain Directors for themselves. But although this event became thus explained to me, it was by no means justified. I thought that in writing to the present Directory, my silence on the calumny personal to myself, would be an act of weakness; my silence respecting the proscribed individuals who took an interest in our fate, an act of ingratitude; my silence on the revolution of Fructidor, a tacit approbation of it; and that I could not speak of all these circumstances without failing in respect to myself by disguising my sentiments, or without failing in respect to the Directors by availing myself of a kindness received at their hands, to act disagreeably towards them. You will even admit that the national and express delegation of the powers has been arbitrarily disturbed. But I am too much of a patriot and a republican, and I have too much gratitude, not to have felt the necessity of embracing all that bound me to France, of proclaiming my republican principles in every quarter, of declaring to every body my obligations to my country, to its go-

vernment, to my friend * * *, to the Director B * *. I also indulged myself in the privilege of doing for my proscribed friends all that they had a right to expect from me, and more than I would have done had they been in power, although I must in any case have felt that to many of them I owe friendship, esteem, and gratitude. Such, my dear friend, has been the effect of that first instinctive feeling which I have almost always followed in the course of my life, and of so doing I have hitherto hardly ever had occasion to repent. But though my ideas were fixed on the general question with sufficient solidity and without headstrong passion, there are a thousand modifications—there are many important ones—on which I was anxious to benefit by your information and advice. Some details have brought the fact to your knowledge, that I sought as much as possible to obtain both before I entered into conversation with you. By calling to mind our first interview, you will recollect that I suspended my opinion on many points, and my plan of conduct on almost all, and that I preferred the inconveniences of delay to the regret of having anticipated your arrival. I will add, in the sincerity of my heart, that if my disposition is little susceptible of being influenced, I, at all events, know none at this moment whose conversation could work such an effect upon me with as much certainty as that of my dear Masclet.”

In Lafayette's opinion it was lawful to have recourse to force only to defend or vindicate the rights which reason and justice were insufficient to maintain, but never in order to overthrow those of others; and it was in this point of view that he regarded insurrection as

the most sacred of duties. He thought that government should ensure the respect due to their own rights, by respecting those of the people; and that when individuals fulfilled their duties towards society, the latter was bound to secure them in the peaceable possession of their privileges. Lafayette's opinions on this subject were expressed in aphorisms in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," which he presented to the Constituent Assembly on the 11th July, 1789. His impression was, that the mechanism of every government should be as simple, and its wheels as few as possible, and above all, that none of the latter should be useless. That he considered the mode of having a solid, regular, and cheap government. He thought that governments ought to have for their sole object the public welfare. He also thought that political matters might, and should be treated with the same sincerity as private affairs; that cabinet finesse, and secret notes, ought to be abandoned; in a word, that the game of diplomacy should be played fairly and with the cards on the table.

In many cases, Lafayette's good sense enabled him to ascertain the causes and to foresee the issue of political events. On the subject of political regeneration, he wrote as follows:—"It had been long preceded by the delirium of a regency immersed in debauchery, and by the infamy of the corrupt reign of Louis XV., which ended in the vilest degradation. It had been prepared by a philosophic improvement in literature: the opinions of Montesquieu, the shafts of Voltaire, the reflections of Rousseau, the declamations of Raynal, and many other productions held in horror by the court, proscribed by the clergy, and burnt in presence of the parliament by

the public executioner, were the delight of all well-informed people. In spite of its aristocratic tendency, the school of Voltaire had emancipated men's understandings; the economist school, which was pure, although too absolute, had tended to enlighten them. In the quarrel between Jansenism and Molinism, the theological school had preached resistance; the American school taught the policy of the rights of man. Nevertheless the ill-fated Louis XVI., with simple tastes and upright intentions, allowed abuses to multiply threefold; and as he could neither preserve good, nor refuse bad ministers, the merit of the former served only to aggravate the faults of the latter."

In the month of May, 1830, an American in Paris, Mr. Mason, I believe, gave a ball to which Lafayette and his family were invited. "We must have some chat together," said he to M. Lethière and one of his friends, who were also of the company. They crossed the rooms where dancing was going on, and seated themselves at some distance from the noisy revellers. There they talked politics for some time, with the ease and freedom of three persons who feel a mutual esteem for each other, and who entertain the same opinions. Lafayette spoke at great length of the infatuation of the Bourbons, and predicted what has since happened, terminating the conversation with the following words:—"What would you have? They have lost their wits, and are three centuries behind the age: Charles X. will get himself exiled, and yet, with a little good sense, he might have been as happy as a mouse in a cheese."

Lafayette might have been quoted both as a type of a perfectly civilized being, and as a proof that civiliza-

tion improves instead of deteriorating man, when he can avoid its vices and with a firm step follow the path traced for him by virtue. He was far from sharing the opinion of certain writers, who maintain that instruction is more calculated to corrupt than to purify the manners of a nation, and to contribute to its misery rather than to its happiness. For this reason he was always a warm advocate for the system of primary instruction. He was, above all, desirous that more pains should be taken with the moral and political education of the people, in order that men might become well informed and good citizens. He thought that the grand social guarantee, and the only one that in a constitutional government could prevent one power from encroaching upon another, was the guarantee of intelligence. He was of opinion, that every member of a well-constituted society should receive an education that might point out to him the path which he ought to pursue between his duties and his rights; and that such an education would prove much more effectual for the prevention, than the law was for the repression, of disorder. He was extremely unhappy when he learnt, during his illness, that the law against associations had been adopted by the Chamber of Deputies; and, above all, he pitied the working classes, whom that measure deprived of the instruction which would otherwise have improved their condition. He thought that useful acquirements should be the special objects of study. He subscribed to my anatomical works, sometimes had the plates explained to him, and testified much regret at not having studied the science of anatomy, "the first elements of which," as he said, "should form part of a good education."

He admitted that he himself would have derived more benefit from it than, for instance, from the science of heraldry, which he had been obliged to learn; and he expressed his astonishment, that in our colleges young people were forced to study the course of different rivers in India or Mexico, whilst no pains were taken to impart to them a knowledge of themselves, by giving them some notions of their own organization and the exercise of their functions. He even urged me, one day, to publish an elementary work on anatomy and physiology, for the use of schools.

Labour was, in Lafayette's opinion, the first duty of man living in a social state. By our labour only can we discharge our debt to society, by first repaying what we have borrowed till we can suffice for ourselves, and afterwards what it continues to supply us with for the rest of our existence. Every man ought to employ his faculties, his bodily strength or mental power, his science or his industry, for the welfare, convenience, or pleasure of society, which has need of pleasure and amusement as a relief from labour. Amusements are in fact necessary for the preservation of health; but they ought to be pure, in order not to corrupt it, and employed only as a relaxation, and not to inspire a disgust for labour. It is in this point of view that we should look upon the utility of those who are exclusively occupied in procuring honest pleasures and amusements for society. The most useful, and consequently the most estimable individuals, are those who borrow the least from, and furnish the most to society. Labour alone produces a genuine progress in civilization. When he can do so, man ought to labour not only for himself and his con-

temporaries, but also for future generations ; he should transmit to them in an improved state the inheritance received by him from the generations to which he succeeds,—an inheritance in which he has merely a life-interest. In what condition should we now be, had former ages carried every thing away with them ? Have we no gratitude and admiration for the memory of those whose labours have ameliorated our existence ? Why, then, should succeeding generations have no claim upon our attention ? Does not a father think of his children's prospects ? Why should the laborious individual—the genuine philanthropist, who looks beyond this brief existence, deprive himself of the pleasure of reflecting that one day his fellow-creatures may bless his memory, whilst profiting by his labours or admiring the works of his genius ?

A good education, (physical, moral, and intellectual,) was in Lafayette's opinion the best inheritance that parents could transmit to their children ; and he considered it their duty to make every sacrifice to ensure to their offspring this imperishable advantage, which could not but in time prove conducive to their happiness and that of others. Society should act in the same manner with regard to each of its members : instruction would render them better, by developing in them a love of study and of labour, by giving a proper direction to their intelligence, and by preventing it from inclining towards evil. In his bitter complaints against mankind, the old vagabond of Beranger might well say :

“ Comme un insecte fait pour nuire,
Hommes, que ne m'écrasiez-vous ?
Ah ! plutôt vous deviez m'instruire
A travailler au bien de tous.

Mis à l'abri d'un vent contraire,
Le ver fût devenu fourmi,
Je vous aurais chéris en frère ;
Vieux vagabond, je meurs votre ennemi !” *

Lafayette had a particular esteem for laborious people of all professions : he admired the wisdom of certain emperors of China, who every year publicly set an example of labour, by themselves guiding the plough and opening the bosom of the earth, to do honour to agriculture, and make known to their people the source of wealth and happiness. He thought that labour could never be too much esteemed and encouraged. When I informed him of the death of his surgeon-dentist, M. Lemaire, whom I had attended, he expressed much sorrow at his loss, and added, “ He was a most skilful man, whom I regret more for his good qualities than for the services which he rendered me ; for his talent he was indebted only to himself, to his labour, and his perseverance ; he was one of those men who form themselves.”

I cannot end this letter, my dear Sir, without thanking you for your attention in communicating to me the fact related by Major Neville, with regard to the liberality of Lafayette towards his family. You have correctly judged that you would do me a pleasure in acquainting me with an action “ worthy,” as you express

* Like an insect created for mischief,
Men, why did you not crush me ?
Ah, you ought rather to have taught me
To labour for the good of all.
Sheltered from an adverse blast,
The worm would have become an ant :
I would have cherished you as a brother ;
As an old vagabond, I die your enemy !

it, "of adding to the pride which France must feel at having given birth to such a man." You also give me a new proof of your feelings and of those of your fellow-citizens for Lafayette, when you say, "Do you think it possible that we Americans can ever sufficiently bless the name of our benefactor!" A nation, which feels thus, was worthy to be adopted by him as a second country*.

* In a eulogium which Major Neville pronounced on Lafayette, at the request of his fellow citizens of Cincinnati, the principal town of the state of Ohio, he relates the following fact.—On the occasion of his last visit to America, General Lafayette, having learned that the family of his old aide-de-camp, Colonel Neville, was in difficulties, before he embarked for France drew a bill of exchange in their favour on the President of the United States, for the sum of 4000 dollars, (20,000 francs,) and addressed it to the children of M. Neville. It may be easily conceived that the latter declined making use of it; but they keep it as a precious document which reflects equal honour on the memory of their father, and on the noble generosity of Lafayette.

LETTER VII.

PARIS, October 8th, 1834.

LAFAYETTE was of opinion that man should be at liberty to embrace the career that might suit him, but that it was especially the duty of parents to know and study the natural dispositions of their children, to make them take different directions according to their capacity or their predominating faculties. He was not desirous that men, as in China, should be compelled to follow the profession of their father, and he thought that primary instruction should enable young people to choose the situation for which they felt the greatest aptitude. Well aware was he that the most distinguished individuals had often formed themselves, and that genius enables man to quit the sphere in which he has been placed, when it proves too narrow for him ; but he placed no reliance on those exceptional cases, and he consequently wished that the first germs of intelligence should be cultivated early and equally amongst all, in order that no untoward circumstance might blight or destroy them. The earth is seldom unproductive except for the bad labourer. Nevertheless, when parents have a blind tenderness for their children, they deceive themselves as to their capacity, entertain a misplaced ambition for them, and wish to see them reach a more elevated position than their own ; they force them on *invité Minervâ*, and hence so many unfortunate instances of mediocrity. Happy the children

who in obedience to their natural inclinations change their profession themselves, and in that manner rectify the excusable error of their parents!

You will read, I think, not without interest, the following passage of a letter from Lafayette to Masclet with reference to the military career of his son:—

“ Talleyrand and you imagine, that had George been in the army, the Directors, in replying to Brune, would have made a formal exception in my favour:—not more so perhaps than the convention made in favour of the father of Moreau, on the day when the latter took the fort of l'Ecluse. But even supposing that the uniform worn by all the young aristocrats, who seek to connect themselves with the republic, had produced such an effect upon the government, you will observe that my son could not have returned in time to follow Buonaparte, unless I had made excessive haste to send him; and when my deliverer was apprehensive of compromising himself by replying to my letters,—when he was himself said to be threatened with an act of accusation,—it would have been imprudent to send to him the son of a man, to whose *treasons* the Directory and the President of the Council of Five Hundred had recently called public attention. Since that period you have not regretted the wars of Switzerland for him: had he been attached to Championnet, he would probably have been associated in a criminal trial; had he served with Joubert, he would have been disgraced, and would perhaps have participated in the extreme disgust which that general cannot refrain from expressing; whereas, at present, he is free and full of ardour, and we may examine the question of his entrance into the service, which has become

much more tempting, to use his own expression, since we have undergone reverses. The fact is, that George, who is a republican patriot,—and I have met with few such in my lifetime,—has, besides, a passion for the military profession, for which I think him adapted, as he possesses a sound and calm judgment, a just perception, a strong local memory, and will be equally beloved by his superiors, his comrades, and his subordinates. I love him with too much tenderness to make any distinction between his desires and mine; and I am too great an enemy to oppression of every description to place a restraint on the wishes of a beloved son nearly twenty years of age. I could joyfully see him covered with honourable scars, but beyond that supposition I have not the courage to contemplate existence. Other objections, however, present themselves to my mind. I do not call them insurmountable, for I admit that the opposite opinion is plausible; and it is only because it appears indisputable to you, that I endeavour to reduce it to its just value. Let us, in the first place, lay aside your comparison with my journey to America, whither I proceeded to oppose the despotism of a government which had violated fewer natural and social rights, from the foundation of the colonies to the declaration of independence, than the Directory daily violates amongst those who have been subjugated to its power. We must not be led away by the flattering sounds of republic and liberty. Algiers, Venice, and Rome under Tiberius, caused the first name to be heard; and as for the second, do you think that the young patricians, who demanded of Sylla the honour to introduce Roman liberty into Asia, had more energy than he who said to

his governor—‘Why is not this man killed who disposes of the life and property of his fellow citizens?’—‘The reason is, that nobody ventures upon the deed.’—‘Then give me a sword and I will kill him.’ That individual, as you know, was Cato.

“It is no doubt gratifying to serve an ungrateful country either in one’s own person or in that of a son; but, in this instance, ingratitude can hardly be said to exist, since benevolence re-appears with liberty: it is a proscription by the oppressive faction of the country, which is at present prolonged by an arbitrary government, till the return of liberty; and for the constant enemy of despotism, it is not indispensable to serve the despotic pentarchy of France. There are also particular inconveniences in my son’s case. You know that in organized countries, in England for instance, activity of service seems to imply the approbation of the governing party; but without admitting that difficulty, imagine George at the table of a leader, drinking, three months hence, to the fortunate day of the 10th August, which was the signal for the assassination of our friends, or ordering one of my accomplices to be shot!

“If, at least, some return to liberal ideas should become manifest—if I could perceive the *avant-coureurs* of a national and legal government, the inexpressible desire which I feel for such a blessing, would induce me to welcome with avidity the smallest drop of liberty that might fall from heaven. I cordially detest the ancient powers; I ardently wish that the new doctrine may be established on a firm basis; this coalition is composed of my implacable enemies. I entertain no personal hostility towards the actual government; I have even ob-

ligations to some of them, and the persecution which I have suffered is too honourable to me for its avowed motives to suffer me to be shocked at it. You know that I love my country, and that its welfare, in what quarter soever it might originate, would give me the highest gratification: consequently no bitterness can enter into the severity of my objections, which I would instantly waive, were liberty, or even the dawn of liberty, again perceptible in France; but I have felt desirous of explaining to you, my dear friend, what has hitherto prevented me from yielding to the natural ardour of my son, and what has struck himself in hearing my remarks on the subject. At the same time, I admit that the opposite opinion, even under existing circumstances, has considerable weight. France, whether free or not, is still our country, and there are more germs of liberty in her democratic organization than could enter into the counter-revolution. Her adversaries are the decided enemies of our purest principles, and have taken up arms only to accomplish her utter destruction. If it appears unsuitable that, when Europe is divided into two bands, a young man of nineteen years of age should be found in neither, it is evident that the place of a patriot—of my son—can only be under our national standards. The late reverses have imparted a more defensive character to our wars, and a leader incapable of acts of pillage has just been appointed to the army of Italy: in a word, if it be permitted, or let us even say, if it be a duty to hesitate, there are many reasons at this moment for the adoption of your advice.”

The following is another letter which at a later period

Lafayette addressed in English to the same friend, to inform him of his son's approaching departure for the army of Italy.

LAGRANGE, 26th Floréal.

" I heartily thank you, my dear Masclet, for your congratulations on the wished-for appointment. The new-made officer is hastening to the field, and hopes to embrace you to-morrow, before his and your departure. Sure it is, the standard of the rights of men is not on the side against which he is going to fight. May they be in France the reward of victory !

" I am very sorry, my dear friend, not to have the pleasure to receive you once more at Lagrange. I hope we shall keep up a punctual correspondence. The municipal agent at Passy will no doubt take a personal leave of you : he has done very well to accept the place : with greater pleasure, I think, he would have accepted, had it been elective, and I cannot conceive why such nominations have not been left to the people.

" With sanguine expectations I am waiting for news from Italy. Bonaparte will conquer. Our situation in Germany is glorious indeed : a brilliant campaign and an honourable peace are, I think, to be depended upon. Adieu, my dear Masclet. Present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Masclet : my family and our friend Madame Staël join in tender compliments to her and to you. My best wishes attend you, my excellent friend ; and I am for ever yours,

" L. F.

" Do not forget what we have said respecting your select speeches."

Lafayette considered play as not only fatal to the interests and to the morals of society, by turning man aside from his pursuits, and exciting his unruly passions, but as an occupation blameable in itself. He who enriches himself at play, avails himself of a culpable industry, or of the favours of Fortune, to transfer the property of others from their pockets to his own. The money which he thus obtains is not legitimately acquired ;—it satisfies his cupidity rather than his conscience, and therefore the gamester seldom sets a high value on it: he regards it merely as a means of sustaining and feeding the passion by which he is devoured, and of abandoning himself without reserve to the impulse of his monomania. Those who ruin themselves at play,—and they form the majority of gamesters, have scarcely a claim on the sympathy of others; with them charity hesitates and acts on the reserve, even when they sue for relief for their most pressing necessities. For similar reasons, Lafayette considered the lottery the most immoral tax that could be imposed on a people, and gamesters in that way the most extravagant of speculators. The government holding the bank, loses upon some stakes, but gains upon nearly all, and cannot ultimately lose. The government, in short, plays a sure game, and is enriched, whilst the speculators are ruined by the temptation of a game, the chances of which are against them, and the profits of which, when realized, are soon again engulfed in the abyss whence they had escaped but for an instant. A number of individuals hang themselves, or die in the workhouse, in consequence of having dreamt of lucky numbers.

Lafayette's ideas appear to me to have been ex-

tremely just on the subject of self-love, considered as an exaggerated opinion which men in general entertain of their personal qualities. Self-love, which is in most cases a symptom of mediocrity, he always looked upon as one of the greatest obstacles to human perfectibility. Man in fact can become better only by feeling aware of his intrinsic value, by comparing it with what it might be, and by invariably finding it far removed from the perfection which he can conceive, but never attain. The modest man, whatever may be his merit or his talents, always finds room to increase, to improve, and to develop them. He approaches nearer to perfection by daily subtracting something from his defects, and adding to his good qualities. As he invariably finds room for self-improvement, he sees no motive for self-love, even when his reason forces upon him the perception of his superiority to others. Few men are devoid of self-love, pride, or vanity, because they constitute themselves judges in their own cause, are blind to their defects, and either do not know, or are not sincere with themselves. Men of merit, when affected with self-love, generally entertain it for their foibles : they instinctively become the apologists for what nobody praises in them, and their blind tenderness for their own weaknesses resembles that felt by parents for their debilitated or deformed offspring. Innate and unreflecting self-love generally makes people of mediocrity fools ; being with people of sense a calculating feeling as far as regards others, it is in them merely a blameable and ridiculous charlatanism.

As flattery always advances faster than sincerity on the road to favour, men have recourse to the former

rather than to the latter, to turn to account the vanity of others. Flattery therefore enters as an essential ingredient into the industry of the knavish. Vanity often makes people forget that every flatterer lives at the expense of the person who listens to him. When a man pays you a compliment, ask yourself first if that compliment be merited. Should you deem it so, examine the man who pays it to you. If he be a fool, he repeats what he has heard others say ; or if he express his personal opinion, you ought to attach no importance to it ; and you would perhaps be a greater fool than he to think more highly of yourself on that account. If the complimenter be a man of sense, you have reason to suspect that he stands in need of you, and seeks to take advantage of your weakness. Unmerited compliments are, on the part of him who pays them, the result of deception, or irony. In the latter case, they are offensive : nevertheless, he who addresses them to you generally expects some service, in return for the false coin which he gives you, and which your vanity prevents you from recognizing. The man of sincerity, who really esteems you, proves his regard for you, not by empty compliments, but by kind actions and devotion to your interests, if necessary.

Independently of other characteristics, man distinguishes himself amongst animals by his self-love, which seems connected with his instinct of preservation, and necessarily renders him an egotist. In most cases he is self-deceived by thinking himself superior to others, sometimes for his strength or beauty, his birth or his intelligence, his virtues or his fortune :—sometimes for the country in which he drew his first breath ; for the

colour of his skin, for his profession,—and not unfrequently for his very perversity ! From this selfish feeling of pretended superiority have arisen the different species of aristocracy, in the most extensive signification of the term, considered without an exclusive reference to the privileged classes of society. Lafayette's ideas with regard to aristocratic prejudices of every description were fixed and determined, and I shall now put together what I can recollect of his conversations, in order to present you with some general considerations on this subject.

Aristocratic feelings exist naturally in the human heart, and are early and instinctively developed along with self-love, of which they are merely the result. From the moment that boys are thrown together in a school, which may be termed an infant state of society, aristocratic ideas are observable amongst them, according as their respective parents are more or less rich or respectable, or as themselves are more or less advanced in education, or in some particular branch of study. This *esprit de classe*, which may also be remarked between different classes, with reference to each other, is at a later period replaced in the world by the spirit that reigns amongst professions, corporations, &c. The numerous classes of aristocracies enjoy more or less consideration and power, and dispute for pre-eminence with each other in the present state of society. We must examine if their pretensions are well founded.

The aristocracy or superiority of physical strength,—that of savage people, amongst whom he who enjoys the greatest share of vigour is entitled to most esteem,—seems the most natural, and in some cases perhaps

the best in reality. In the present state of society, however, it plays but a very inferior part, being the distinction of brutes. As it generally falls to the lot of the heroes of the market, and to those modern Alcides, who display the superiority of their muscular strength on the stage for the amusement of the public: it is in reality useful only to raise heavy weights; and it becomes honourable only when employed to protect right, to defend the feeble against the attacks of the strong, or to save the life of man in danger.

The superior mind of Lafayette treated with sovereign contempt titles of nobility,—futile distinctions which men have established between each other, and to which some who possess them attach considerable value and importance. In his opinion, titles of nobility were most frequently but the inheritance of vanity. The arms, crowns, crosses, fantastic animals, or grotesque emblems, which formed the armorial bearings of the nobility, sometimes recalled lofty virtues, great talents, or splendid achievements; but they too often served as evidences of acts of oppression, cruelty, or baseness, in families, or as a veil to cover the defects or the nullity of those by whom they were adopted. The pride of the old feudal aristocracy generally hardened the hearts of those possessed by it, by persuading them that the rest of mankind belonged to an inferior species, and were unworthy of their good feelings or their gratitude for services received from them, and that they might, without the least scruple of conscience, treat their dogs or their horses better than their servants.

Lafayette was well aware that when titles of nobility were abolished, it could no longer be said, for instance,

Peter was made a baron on such a day, because he or his grandfather performed a splendid action, but he knew that it could always be said that on such a day Peter, or his ancestor, had performed such or such a splendid action. The title of baron, or any other, was but an echo which incessantly wearied people by repeating that Peter had performed such or such a brilliant achievement: the result only proved irksome to the hearers, and fed the vanity of Peter himself. Happy are the nobles whose titles are not like the echoes of the barber of Midas!

Proud of having lost his feudal nobility, Lafayette looked upon the land of liberty as giving a promise to mankind of a richer harvest of public virtue, than the barren fields of sable, gold, or azure, so long moistened with the tears and the blood of nations. He recognized no other nobility than that of the feelings of the soul; he admitted no other distinctions amongst men, than those acquired by them from their virtues, their talents, or their services to their fellow-men. But though he recognized no hereditary nobility, he did not on that account desire that a man should deny his father's name*: he merely thought "that it was useless to corroborate by law the kindly feelings entertained towards the descendant of a celebrated man." In his opinion, the splendour of a great name imposed a duty on its inheritors to support it worthily, without deriving advantage from it, and never to forget that nobility

* "As children ought not to bear the sins of their fathers, they ought not, on the other hand, to profit by their merit." Louis XI. (Trial of the Duke d'Alençon). *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France, publiées par MM. Cimber et Danjou.*

renders certain duties obligatory. It is a burden frequently too heavy for the shoulders of those who bear it, and might crush them, especially when they have not the good sense to allow others to forget that they carry the load. What would be, to a son, the inheritance of a father's titles, had nature disinherited him of his father's virtues? It would be as though he had received the sword of battle without an arm to wield it.

"The Gospel again!" wrote Lafayette to the Bailli de Ploën, "is it a greater leveller than our laws? it curses the distinctions of wealth; its primitive practice is favourable to a community of property, and after Jesus had been immolated to the vengeance of priests and princes, the associations formed by his disciples were regarded as *propaganda* hostile to all social inequalities. Our principle of equality limited itself to proscribing amongst the citizens in the political order, and in the use of their personal faculties, all privileges and hereditary impediments, so that a man's mere birth could not stamp his existence with a legal prerogative or incapacity. Afterwards that principle refused to recognize the claims of nobility upon any portion of territory, at the expense of neighbouring properties."

"In every place", said Lafayette, in the same letter, "where no privileges can be enjoyed, either from the title of an estate, or from exemptions from public burdens, or from preferences of admission, or from political rights, the existence of a nobility is impossible. Consequently every qualification which, according to the ancient jurisprudence of France, and that of Europe, characterizes those privileges, became with us inadmissible; and at the risk of seeing our females, indignant

at having conceived a mere citizen, proceed to the frontier to give birth to a count or baron, we enacted a most reasonable law, prohibiting in our country distinctive signs, the usurpation of which would be tolerated neither in Germany nor in England."

In 1819, in a speech which he delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, Lafayette, speaking of the abolition of privileges by the Constituent Assembly, expressed himself in the following terms:—"At that period was established the principle of *constitutional equality*, which simply refers to principles of *general utility*, the distinctions sanctioned by law. * The members of the privileged caste lost the right of inflicting exclusion and contempt upon the rest of their fellow-citizens. No Frenchman was ineligible to employments because he was not noble, or dishonoured, if he was noble, for having exercised a useful profession: the fatal prejudice which formerly existed on that score, prevented a number of families from contributing to the public welfare at the very period when their means of adding to it were increased."

The aristocracy of money, that of the rich man, is one of the most powerful, one of those which in general excite the strongest desire to form part of it. To become wealthy, and consequently to possess the power and the means of satisfying one's tastes and passions, is to many the object of existence. Nevertheless, the aristocracy of money may have something noble in it, when, like the horn of plenty, it bestows its treasures on men whom it relieves, on commerce which it animates, or on the earth which it fertilizes,—but what is it in itself? It frequently requires little intelligence to

amass much money, supposing it legitimately acquired ; but great qualities are required to make a prudent use of wealth, and to circulate it freely without extravagance. The prodigal sow their treasures in the bed of a torrent, without honour to themselves, and without advantage to their country. On the other hand, the avaricious capitalist impoverishes his country by hoarding wealth, and by stopping the circulation of the vivifying metal. Like the strong box, he possesses a value only when full, and is of use only when he can be emptied. Avarice is the rust of the soul : nothing grand or generous can germ or develop itself in the miser's withered heart !

The pride arising from the possession of wealth is always ridiculous : it can make a fool of a man estimable in other respects, by causing him to forget or to conceal his origin, which no other person forgets, and which malice delights in exposing to public view ; by urging him to make an ostentatious display of the weaknesses which he ought to conceal ; and especially by filling him with absurd pretensions to the other descriptions of aristocracy.

The *aristocracy of intelligence*, undoubtedly renders highly commendable the men who confer honour on their country, or contribute to the welfare of mankind by their labours in literature, science, or the arts ; but in what estimation would a literary man, an artist, or a man of science be held, if his character were found unworthy of his talent or of his intellectual superiority ?

Is the aristocracy of academic bodies, and of scientific or literary societies, well founded ? No. What in fact are all academies ? Assemblages of men, more or less

celebrated, having each a special organization, instituted for the promotion of literature, the sciences, or the arts, and the glory and the utility of many of which are undoubted. Of what elements are they composed? Of members, a few of them men of superior talent or genius,—modest, sparing of words, a credit to the academies, and men of whom the academies have reason to be proud. The others, who generally form a large majority, are of less acknowledged merit; prolix in their speeches; individuals who borrow their lustre from the academies of which they are members, and for their seats in which they are frequently indebted to intrigue rather than to talent. Besides, the day of academies is passing away. Brilliant and splendid in the dark ages of ignorance, the centre of the intelligence which enlightened the world, their lustre has turned pale in proportion to the diffusion of education, and to the dawning of new light upon all ranks of society. Religious communities, the retreats in which so many men of austere morals have buried themselves through love of religion, or zeal for literature and science, may be placed in the same class. But, although their existence is no longer necessary, we owe them equal gratitude for the pious and learned men who have preserved, enriched, and transmitted to us the sacred treasures of science.

It has latterly been often repeated, that good manners, the best sentiments, and in short the virtues, have in some sort taken refuge among the middle classes of society. Those classes have interpreted too literally a maxim which nevertheless contains some truth, and thence has arisen a *citizen aristocracy*, (*l'aristocratie*

bourgeoise,) which is the most recent, the most numerous, and perhaps the sickliest, but not the least assuming of all.

The different professions in States form corporations, which have each their aristocracy. Thus, according to different ages and countries, the *religious aristocracy*, that of the ministers of different religions, enjoys a varying degree of credit and influence. In consequence of the spiritual task confided to them, if these ministers abuse their mission, and occupy themselves with temporal interests, they lose in consideration what they gain in wealth. Fanaticism, in all religions, engenders contempt or horror for other modes of worship. Each sect believes itself in the right way, and thinks that others are in error; and hatred is often more bitter between the seceders of the same religion than between the latter and the sectaries of a different faith. True philosophy, convinced of human weakness, and deeply sensible of the infinite greatness and goodness of the Divinity, in recognizing liberty of conscience, prescribes tolerance. In a letter to the Bailli de Ploën, Lafayette said, "If it be a crime to have preferred civil and religious liberty extended equally to all men and all countries, none, Sir, is more guilty than myself."

Military men also form a powerful aristocracy in states. Bound to passive obedience towards their superiors, they sometimes make the weight of their rank felt by their subordinates, or by the citizens, from amongst whom they have risen, and amongst whom they must one day return. As a military man, Lafayette set an example of obedience to the civil power. "Though the

national sovereignty was violated in the representatives as well as in the delegations of the powers," said he, in a letter to M. d'Archenholz, on the subject of the 10th August, "I did not wish that the armed force should cease its obedience, and it was from the civil authorities within reach of the camp that I demanded orders." A military aristocracy disappears, and its despotism ceases amongst a nation, each citizen of which is armed in support of the laws, or in defence of the country.

It is unquestionable that differences of intelligence exist amongst different races of men, and that in this respect some appear far superior to others, but none are on that account the less entitled to the enjoyment of civil and political liberty. In each of these races the same differences exist amongst the individuals composing them; and for that reason men gifted by nature with superior intelligence do not, or at least ought not, to sell their inferiors like beasts of burden. They ought to attach them to themselves, to treat with them on even terms, and, whilst securing their interests, to turn them to advantage for society. The mutual interests of superiors and inferiors, like those of father and son, are the same, and neither are obliged to change position with regard to each other. Whatever may be the colour of his skin, the conformation of his head, the nature of his hair, the development of his intelligence, man ought to be master of his will, and of the power of disposing of his person, on condition of submitting himself to the laws that govern the society to which he belongs. Thus nothing can justify the aristocracy of the white race, or excuse slavery and the slave trade.

The last of the negroes may always say to the first of the whites,—“Am I not a man—a brother?” These words form the touching inscription on a medal with which you are acquainted, and on which may be seen a poor negro chained, and imploring on his knees, and with clasped hands, the indulgence of his master, whose stick is raised over his head.

LETTER VIII.

PARIS, October 12th, 1834.

INDIVIDUALS reared in the school of depravity—the reprobates who people the galleys and the prisons, have also their aristocracy, but, alas! what sort of an aristocracy! Their moral faculties are so perverted, every feeling of conscience is so totally stifled in their bosoms, that their intelligence is developed towards evil, as that of other men towards good, and the highest pitch of wickedness is for them the point of perfection at which they aim! Their mutual esteem is in proportion to their mutual infamy, and they excite each other to become worse, if possible, and to approach nearer to perfection in crime. If some among them still preserve a feeble remnant of good feeling, they soon lose it through the false shame of not being on a level with the chiefs of their hierarchy. The social virtues are in their eyes mere prejudices; they laugh at all that the world holds most sacred, and their moral degradation places them below the brutes. Being always at open war with society, they endeavour to turn it to account by cunning or by force, like foxes, or ravenous wolves. Society dreads them with reason, and concert measures to discover, trace, and hunt them down. This state of things is really deplorable, and can be changed only when means shall have been employed to correct and amend criminals, instead of chaining them like wild beasts in a ménagerie, or killing them like mad dogs.

But enough of this horrible aristocracy : I have alluded to it, *en passant*, merely to show the abuse that may be made of the best principles, and the most sacred things.

The aristocratic pretensions to which a besotted self-love gives birth, are rare amongst those who occupy the highest places in each class, and they seem to increase as we descend towards the lowest ranks in each division. Every body is aware of the arrogance of a half gentleman, a sorry poet, a wretched artist, a *demi-savant*, or a beadle. “Your *demi-savants*,” said one no less remarkable for his extensive acquirements than for his wit, “are like your pretended men of courage, who boast loudly of their exploits.”

The various aristocracies are ambitious, and jealous of each other, and live at present in a state of anarchy, insulting and warring against each other, or uniting together for mutual defence when their interests and their passions command the union. It is in times of revolution especially, that the observer may witness the character and the pretensions of each description of aristocracy, and analyse its motives of action, or its intrigues. In the present age, however, the minds of all classes have a decided direction towards the study of natural philosophy, the exact and positive sciences, the fine arts, and industry : for this reason the different aristocracies are unable to exist in an isolated state ; one alone is not sufficient to confer importance on an individual ; they have need of each other, and begin to mingle or combine themselves together under different forms. At present the nobles entertain less horror for

alliances with commoners, and the latter pay less attention to the honour or the disgrace of a bar which crosses the shield of a noble in such or such a direction. The rich man begins to feel that money alone is not sufficient to procure him consideration, and he aspires to something higher than the wealth of a Croesus. The lights of philosophy, by instructing the reason of these men, and education, by developing their minds, destroy old prejudices amongst one class, and check the excessive growth of pride amongst the others.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing observations? That birth, strength, beauty, wit, and genius, depend upon chance; that we have instruction, talents, and fortune, when we can,—probity, honour, and virtue, when we will. The wise man ought therefore to estimate at their real value all aristocratic vanities, and to aspire only to virtue. Virtue is the expression of the conscience, the feelings, and the will of man, and she alone has a right to our esteem and admiration.

Lafayette was one of the most zealous advocates for slave emancipation, and one of the members of the society formed to accomplish that noble task. How opposite soever the slave-trade may be to every idea of religion, justice, and humanity, the cause of the unfortunate negroes was not defended with zeal before the middle of the 18th century. The Abbé Raynal was one of the oldest combatants in this memorable struggle, which was afterwards supported with so much talent and perseverance by Doctor Fothergill, by Clarkson, by Froissard, the minister of the Holy Gospel, by the

good Quaker, Benezet, and by Necker, Turgot, Poivre, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Fox, and Wilberforce.

It was in 1503 that the Spaniards for the first time transported a small number of Africans to their new colonies. Ferdinand permitted a more considerable importation of them in 1511. Finally, in 1517, Charles V. granted to one of his Flemish favourites the exclusive right of importing 4000 negroes into America. The favourite sold his patent to some Genoese merchants for 25,000 ducats, and the Genoese were the first who gave a regular form to the slave-trade between Africa and America, which since that period has increased to so prodigious an extent*.

Lafayette and Larochefoucauld were so united in sentiments, opinion, and conduct in the cause of negro emancipation, that it is impossible to separate one from the other. Both were so opposed in belief to the pretended property of slave owners, that during their whole life they sustained at their joint expense, before the French tribunals, all trials entered into by negroes for the recovery of their freedom. Lafayette, too, in the American revolution, had a considerable share in contributing to the laws against the slave trade, and to the measures taken for the gradual emancipation of the negroes in the northern and central States; and if these philanthropic dispositions were not imitated in the southern States, they had at least partisans there, amongst whom the brave Colonel Laurens, Washington's aide-de-camp, and one of the largest proprietors of Carolina, deserves distinguished mention. He was on

* Herrera, quoted by Robertson in his "History of America," Book 3d, pages 267 and 268. Bâle edition.

the point of emancipating, and enrolling into his regiment, all his negroes, at the moment when he was killed by the enemy.

After the decisive campaign against Lord Cornwallis in 1781, Lafayette, on receiving the thanks of the State of Virginia, which had particularly profited by his successes, replied by the expression of a wish, that liberty might be speedily extended to all men without distinction. But he was not content with sterile wishes; and on his return to France, flattering himself, like Turgot and Poivre, that the gradual emancipation of the negroes might be conciliated with the personal interests of the colonists, he was desirous of establishing the fact by experience, and for that purpose he tried a special experiment, on a scale sufficiently large to put the question to the test. At that period, the intendant of Cayenne was a man of skill, probity, and experience, named Lescalier, whose opinions on the subject coincided with those of Lafayette. Marshal de Castries, the minister of the marine, not only consented to the experiment, but determined to aid it, by permitting Lescalier to try upon the king's negroes the scheme for a new system. Lafayette had at first devoted 100,000 francs to this object: he confided the management of the residence which he had purchased at Cayenne to a man distinguished for philosophy and talent named Richeprey, who generously devoted himself to the direction of the experiment. The seminarists established in the colony, and above all the Abbé Farjon, the curate of it, applauded and encouraged the measure. It is but justice to the colonists of Cayenne to say, that the negroes had been treated with more humanity there

than elsewhere. Richeprey's six months' stay there, and the example set by him before he fell a victim to the climate, contributed still further to assuage their lot. Larochefoucauld was to purchase another plantation as soon as Richeprey's establishment had met with some success, and a third was afterwards to be bought by Malesherbes, who took a cordial interest in the plan. The untimely death of Richeprey, the difficulty of replacing such a man, the departure of the intendant, and a change in the ministry, threw obstacles in the way of this noble undertaking.

When Lafayette had been proscribed in 1792, the National Convention confiscated all his property, and ordered his negroes to be sold at Cayenne, in spite of the remonstrances of Lafayette, who protested against the sale, observing that the negroes had been purchased only to be restored to liberty after their instruction, and not to be again sold as objects of trade and speculation. At a later period, all the negroes of the French colonies were declared free by a decree of the National Convention. It is nevertheless remarkable, that some of Lafayette's plans with regard to slave emancipation were realized: Cayenne, the only one of our colonies in which the example set by him of instructing the negroes had been followed, was also the only colony in which no disorders took place. Urged by gratitude, the negroes of his plantation declared to Richeprey's successor, that if Lafayette's property was confiscated, they would avail themselves of their liberty, but that in the opposite case they would remain and continue to cultivate his estate.

Lafayette was desirous of emancipating the negroes

only by degrees, and in proportion as their moral and intellectual education rendered them worthy of freedom. He foresaw all the inconveniences that might attend the sudden emancipation of a people debased by slavery, and the dangers that must follow their immediate transition from a state of brutal degradation to one of entire liberty,—a state that must prove to them nothing more than one of unbridled licentiousness, of which despotism would artfully take advantage, as of a terrible weapon, first to establish, and next to justify its sway. For man, in fact, there are moral as well as physical transitions. The prisoner enfeebled by a long confinement in dark dungeons cannot, without danger, be suddenly restored to the light of day. The slave, in like manner, is fitted to enjoy liberty only after gradual enlightenment as to the privileges which it confers, the duties which it imposes, and the limits prescribed to it by reason and justice. But, in Lafayette's opinion, the greater the difficulties that impeded the abolition of slavery, the more energetic should be the zeal, and the more persevering the efforts, of the genuine philanthropist to obtain so honourable a result; and he saw with pain that paltry considerations of interest paralysed the hearts of some who might have given a decided impulse to negro emancipation.

Of all the public schools in New York visited by Lafayette during his last stay in America, that in which he took the most lively interest was the free school of young Africans, founded and instituted by the society for the emancipation of the blacks. Having been unanimously named a member of that society, he was no less affected by such a mark of esteem, than by the

testimonies of gratitude shewn to him by the poor negro children of the establishment: M. Levasseur, who has preserved the recollection of the visit, states that a little negro approached Lafayette, and said to him with emotion—"You see, General, these hundreds of poor African children who appear before you: here they share the benefits of education with the children of the whites: like them, they learn to cherish the recollection of the services which you have rendered to America, and they also revere in you an ardent friend to the emancipation of their race, and a worthy member of the society to which they owe so much gratitude."

Few are unacquainted with the devotion with which Lafayette supported the rights of the men of colour belonging to our colonies in 1791, in the National Assembly, and afterwards in the reign of Charles X. The same sentiments of love for liberty, of indignation against tyranny, induced him latterly to embrace with so much zeal the cause of the Greeks, the Poles, and that of the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese patriots.

Lafayette forcibly opposed the ill-treatment sometimes exercised in prisons, especially towards the individuals condemned or detained for political offences. He was aware of the abuse of power often committed by those appointed to guard the prisoners, whose remonstrances are rarely attended to. In a letter which he wrote from his prison of Magdeburg to the Princess d'Hénin, on the 15th March, 1793, he gave a vivid description of the useless vexations to which he was forced to submit. "I shall now", said he, "describe my prison and my mode of living. Represent to yourself an opening made in the rampart of the citadel, and provided with

strong and lofty palisades. By this passage, and after traversing four doors in succession, each of which is secured with chains, bolts, and bars of iron, you may, with some difficulty and trouble, reach my cell, which is five paces and a half by three, and which contains no other ornament than two French verses rhyming to the words *souffrir* and *mourir*. The wall near the moat is damp with putridity, and the opposite one allows the light of day, but not the rays of the sun, to penetrate through the narrow window which is, in some sort, hermetically barred. Add to this two sentinels, whose looks plunge incessantly into my subterranean abode, to prevent us from speaking to each other, a few spies established around us, besides our gaolers, and finally, the walls, ramparts, ditches, and guards, inside and outside the citadel of Magdeburg, and you will perceive, my dear princess, that the foreign powers neglect nothing to detain me in their safe keeping. The noise made by my four doors is heard every morning when they are opened to admit my servant; again, at dinner, when I take my meal in presence of the commandant of the citadel and the guard; and lastly, at night, when my servant is reconducted to his prison. That done, after carefully inspecting all the bolts, the commandant takes away the keys into the apartment in which, since my arrival, he has been ordered to sleep by the king. I am furnished with books the blank leaves of which have been torn out; but I have neither news, nor gazettes, nor communications, nor ink, nor pens, nor pencils; and it is absolutely a miracle that I am in possession of this sheet of paper, on which I write with a toothpick.

“ My health is declining, for liberty is as necessary to my physical as to my moral constitution. The small quantity of air which finds its way into my subterranean cell, has brought but little relief to the oppression of my lungs. I am often feverish, I take no exercise, and but little rest. I make no complaints, however, for experience has taught me the inutility of so doing. Nevertheless I cling to life, and my friends may rest assured of the active operation of all the sentiments which contribute to make me value the preservation of my existence; although, considering my position and the progress of my sufferings, I cannot much longer answer for the efficacy of my endeavours. Perhaps it is better to prepare my friends in this manner, than to surprise them hereafter by an unexpected blow.”*

May the painful impression recently made on every feeling heart by the disclosures of the ill-fated Silvio Pellico, at length release human nature from so grave a reproach as that of the sufferings which may be heaped on an innocent man!

During the restoration, a number of distinguished writers were incarcerated for their liberal opinions. Lafayette visited them, and by thus giving them a public testimony of his esteem and friendship, seemed desirous of rendering himself a guarantee for their principles. In 1829, I spoke to him of the sufferings endured in the dungeons of Lisbon by M. de Mello Breyner, the victim of Don Miguel. Lafayette, though not pre-

* This letter is to be found in English in a work on the life of Governor Morris. Boston, 1832. It has been translated into French, and inserted in M. Jules Taschereau's excellent collection, *Révue Rétrospective*, Vol. V. page 142.

cisely of the same political opinions, sincerely lamented his fate, felt indignant at the barbarity of his persecutors, and predicted the fall of the cruel prince whose orders they executed.

The commander de Mello Breyner, one of the most learned juris-consults of Portugal, was minister plenipotentiary from that country to Paris in 1826. At that epoch I was called in to see him in my professional capacity. He was then seventy-five years old, but he had preserved all the freshness of his intelligence. During his stay in Paris his health was seriously endangered by different affections, which gave me occasion to see him frequently, and to profit by his conversation, which was no less animated than solid and instructive. He recognized as the basis of all legislation the fundamental principles established by Lafayette, "that no man is bound to submit to laws unless agreed to by himself or his representatives, and promulgated and legally applied beforehand; moreover, that laws should be clear, precise, and uniform for all citizens."

Independently of the useful public monuments with which he enriched Oporto, and the advantageous reforms which he introduced into the administration, M. de Mello Breyner, when governor of that city, occupied himself in a special manner with effecting a change in the prison régime, and improving the condition of the prisoners, who looked upon him as a second father. He felt a pleasure in talking to me of the alterations which he had judged it expedient to make, of the beneficial results obtained from them, and above all of the regret which was felt for his loss in Oporto. I have since ascertained from several of his countrymen, that whenever

the prisoners claimed his assistance, he would immediately attend to their summons, at any hour of the day or night, and proceed alone into the most noisome dungeons, to afford them such relief as in his capacity of governor he was enabled to grant them. Like Lafayette he maintained that, in depriving man of his liberty, the law was not obliged to act in opposition to the dictates of humanity, by inflicting on him privations and sufferings that might endanger his health or his existence. This respectable magistrate then little foresaw that, after serving his country for more than fifty years, he would one day become the victim of Don Miguel's vengeance; that at the age of seventy-nine, he would be torn from his family and his friends, and thrown into a dungeon to perish in misery and abandonment!

Notwithstanding his advanced age, and his habitually feeble health, M. de Mello Breyner sacrificed every thing to his duty. At the period of the promulgation of the charter by Don Pedro, he was named minister of justice in Lisbon, though he was actually for the moment in Paris. On that occasion, I observed to him that his health was too delicate to resist the fatigues that must be occasioned by his new functions, in a country agitated by the most stormy passions. "I am fully sensible," replied he, "of the weight of all your arguments, and I thank you for the interest which you take in my concerns. I should prefer remaining in Paris with my worthy friends, and superintending the education of my sons; but my country claims my services, and if she has need of me, I must obey her summons, and die in the breach if necessary." Shortly after his return to Portugal, having been dismissed from

the post which he had accepted, he retired to a country house in the environs of Lisbon. I received a long letter from him, which he wrote in his retirement, and which was brought to me by Doctor Cordeiro. "My good friend," wrote he, "I should have acted wisely in following your prudent advice and remaining in France; but you see I am still young—in experience. Here I am, living retired at my country seat, where I cultivate my cabbages, which are far less ungrateful than men." Some months afterwards he was arrested and thrown into the prisons of Bogio, whence he was transferred to those of Belem, and next to those of Saint Julien. It was only after the most pressing solicitations that his unhappy daughter, the Marchioness de Niza, obtained permission for herself and her brothers to visit and attend their aged father. She was not allowed to share his captivity, and she was daily forced, even in the most inclement weather, to cross the Tagus in a boat in order to arrive at her father's dungeon. She often reached his presence drenched by the waves and dying with cold, and in that state passed the day by his side. Her delicate health was soon enfeebled, and from that period was never completely re-established. Madame de Niza had the affliction of being separated from her father some months before his death, all communication between them having been interdicted. It is impossible to reflect without horror on the sufferings endured by the aged prisoner on his wretched bed, which was too small for him, and on which he could not even stretch himself at full length in his agony!

As soon as M. de Mello Breyner had breathed his last, his ferocious gaolers would have thrown his body

into the Tagus, and it was with the utmost difficulty that his daughter, aided by the worthy Abbé Stéfani, her son's preceptor, obtained permission, as a favour, to bestow the rite of burial on his remains. The following trait may be quoted in proof of the noble character, and immovable firmness of this unfortunate minister. Every thing had been prepared for his escape, which was to have been effected through a window, and he was to have embarked in a boat, in readiness to receive him, on the Tagus. The prayers and tears of his daughter were unavailing to prevail upon him to quit his dungeon. "I know that I am detained unjustly," said he, "but my gaolers are not the judges of that question, and in executing their orders they merely do their duty;—I will not compromise them by seeking safety in flight." The Marchioness, who shortly after the death of her father, was herself obliged to quit Lisbon, now resides in Paris, where she devotes herself to the education of her son. She is the widow of the Marquis de Niza, a descendant of Vasco da Gama. M. de Mello Breyner's three sons have embraced the profession of arms, and have fought bravely for the liberation of their country.

Lafayette was extremely desirous that the penitentiary régime so generally adopted in the prisons of the United States should be introduced into ours. He was no advocate, however, for the complete seclusion of the prisoners. "Solitary confinement," said he, "is a punishment which to be judged of must have been endured;" he thought, like the virtuous Malesherbes, that it might lead to madness. During the five years of his own captivity he had passed an entire year in that manner,

and for a portion of the remaining period, had seen but one companion for an hour every day. He observed that his own experience had convinced him that the system was not calculated to lead to reformation—that he had been confined for his attempts to revolutionize the people against despotism and the aristocracy—that he employed his solitary hours in meditating on that object, and that, on quitting his prison, he was not in the least diverted from his original design*. He thought that, in depriving man of his liberty—in separating him from the society to which he had given just cause of complaint, the law should have for its object not merely to inflict punishment on the prisoner, but also to correct and amend him for his own sake and for that of the society to which he was one day to be restored. He looked upon most of our houses of correction as places of demoralization, better calculated to stimulate culprits in the career of crime than to withdraw them from their evil courses. He took much interest in the particulars with which I one day acquainted him as to the government and administration of the penitentiary at Geneva, which I had visited. His philanthropy was still more hurt than his national pride, at seeing that, in this respect, we remain far in arrear of our neighbours and your countrymen.

Capital punishment was held in horror by Lafayette, who constantly raised his voice against that monstrous penalty. He thought that society had no right to take away what it could not restore, or to exercise the right of life and death upon one of its members, especially in matters of political and religious opinion, which belong

* Levasseur; *Lafayette en Amerique*, Vol. II. page 331.

to what man holds most dear, most sacred, and most inviolable—liberty of conscience. He constantly inveighed against the exceptional tribunals, which in his opinion were nothing more than a terrible instrument placed in the hands of despotism to give an appearance of legality to its most atrocious acts—to murder in the name of the law.

“Notwithstanding the pains taken to tantalize us by depriving us of news,” wrote he to the Princess d’Hénin, speaking of his gaolers at Magdeburg, “a few words from Damas, at the period of our singular meeting at Ham, made us acquainted with the success of the French army, with the injurious management of public affairs, and with the king’s trial, in which all the laws of humanity, justice, and national interest were completely violated.”

I have furnished you, my dear Sir, with a summary account, though doubtless a very imperfect and unmethodical one, of Lafayette’s opinions on different subjects, taken, as it were, at random. I will add that he was familiar with all questions of morals, jurisprudence, policy, and public economy, and that he could have treated them all *ex professo*. I have frequently heard him speak of the resources of France and other States; of the relations which people and governments should have to each other; of constitutions, legitimacy, property; of commerce, industry, agriculture; of the art of war, the progress of civilization, the happiness of nations and individuals, and other questions, which he treated in the most lucid manner, and which he solved with his natural good sense and simplicity. But to retrace all that I recollect of his conversations, would be to me a

task of some difficulty, for I am not sufficiently familiar with many of the subjects to which they referred ; and, besides, in making the attempt, I should exceed the object that I proposed to myself in writing these letters, which you must consider merely as notes for your information. The next courier will furnish you with the recollections which I have retained of Lafayette's residence at Lagrange.

LETTER IX.

PARIS, October 17, 1834.

MANY persons, and amongst the number some of your countrymen, are persuaded that Lafayette was in a manner wholly given up to politics, and that he could have had no time to devote to the duties and occupations of private life. My foregoing letters must, I think, have already conveyed a contrary impression; but to prove to you still further how little foundation there was for an opinion so widely circulated, we will transport ourselves to Lagrange, and examine what Lafayette did for agriculture and rural economy, for which he had imbibed a taste during his exile in foreign countries.

Lafayette had felt a strong desire to become the possessor of Lagrange. As soon as he was able to instal himself in that property, he abandoned himself with ardour for several consecutive years to field labours, which re-established his health, shattered by the sufferings of his captivity, and at a later period afforded him a relaxation from the fatigues, or a consolation for the chagrins, of his political career. Like the Roman dictators, who in the hour of danger quitted the plough and girded their loins with the sword, Lafayette, after the combat laid down his arms, resumed his peaceful and laborious existence, and once more found the soil less ungrateful than his country for the pains which he

lavished on it. On the 2d Frimaire, year 9*, he wrote as follows to Masclet:—"In the meantime I am constantly looking at the fields of Lagrange till I know that they are my property, and that I shall be at liberty to cultivate them. The allotment of our shares will be finished, I hope, in three or four decades; Adrienne's share will be less considerable than I had imagined; but should I obtain my favourite residence of Lagrange, with its arrondissement of wood, meadows, and arable land, I shall arrange a good handsome farm for myself, and I shall then envy the lot of none." In the same letter he added, "I shall not go to America, my dear Masclet, at least not in a diplomatic capacity. I am far from abandoning the idea of making private and patriotic visits to the United States, and to my fellow-citizens of the New World, but at present I am much more intent upon farming than upon embassies. It seems to me that were I to arrive in America in any other costume than an American uniform, I should be as embarrassed with my appearance as a savage in breeches. At all events the First Consul has said nothing to me about the matter." "I am here alone in my fields," wrote he again to the same friend, "where I pass a most agreeable life, turning to account four strong ploughs, and aptly demonstrating the disputed problem of the farmer proprietor."

Before we follow Lafayette in his agricultural labours, I shall remind you of some circumstances which you must have noticed in your visits to Lagrange, and I shall acquaint you with others of which you are probably ignorant. The former will recall to your mind agree-

* December, 1801.

able recollections, and the latter will, I am certain, excite your warmest interest, especially as an American; for nothing attached to the memory of that great man can be viewed with indifference by your countrymen, who so well appreciated his virtues. Lafayette was in their eyes a being worthy of the highest veneration, and Lagrange a sort of sanctuary to which they were bound to make a pilgrimage.

Lagrange Bleneau, better known at present by the name of Lagrange Lafayette, is situate thirteen leagues east of Paris, near Rosay en Brie, and nearly half way from Melun to Meaux. The château and farm touch one another, and are situated in the centre of the grounds which surround them, and form an almost perfect circle of more than 800 French acres. The roads leading to Lagrange cross the property, and are well planted and carefully kept in order. The entrance into the park is through a wide and handsome avenue, slightly curved, and bordered with young and sturdy apple-trees, the branches of which incline towards the traveller, and seem to offer him the blossoms or fruit with which they are loaded. This avenue turns to the left, passing along the farm, and an old chapel, which at present forms part of it: it then crosses a small plantation of chestnut trees, and soon afterwards, shaded by beautiful green trees, which impart to it a sombre and mysterious aspect, conducts to the entrance of the château. A stone bridge, with parapets, has replaced the drawbridge which formerly existed over the moat. The entrance is by a large door, composed of two arches, the one exterior and larger than the other, having on the sides two deep excavations, which

received a portion of the wood work and the chains of the old bridge: the other, which is on the inside, and elliptical, forms the real door; on the sides of the latter may be seen two substantial towers, in which are pierced narrow windows, in the form of loopholes, and the thick walls of which are built of freestone, like the rest of the building. The walls to the level of the tiled



roof, by which they are surmounted, are covered with moss and tufted ivy, between the foliage of which may be seen the outline of the casements of the towers. The ivy was planted by the celebrated Charles Fox, during his stay at Lagrange with General Fitzpatrick, after the peace of Amiens. The plant, which may be taken as a symbol of his friendship for Lafayette, has increased with years, and clung closer to the walls of the habitation of the latter. The court, through which

is the entrance, has the form of an irregular square, and is spacious, lightsome, and enlivened by the view of the park, on which it opens.

The following is a view of the château, taken from the entrance of the copse at the extremity of the lawn. The park contains several benches, resembling that which I have here sketched. Each of them is formed of a plank, placed between two trees, which receive its extremities, and then fix them securely by the successively increasing thickness of their exterior surface.



The château, which is not regular, presents to view five towers, covered with conical roofs of a rather elegant form. Two of them are placed at the extremity

of the wings, of which they form the termination ; two others are situated on the outer angles, uniting the wings to the main body of the building, behind which is the fifth. I could have wished to introduce into this part of my letter the precision with which General Latour Maubourg has given his model in his description of the prisons of Olmütz ; but although I am unable to imitate him very closely, I furnish you with a hastily drawn plan, which may supply the deficiencies of my description.

1. The avenue leading to the gate of the château.

2. The bridge.

3. The gate.

4, 5. The two lateral towers of the gate.

6. The court.

7. The front of the main body of the building.

8. The wings of the château.

4, 9. The towers which form the termination of the wings of the château on the side of the park.

9. The second receiving-room.

10. The tower in which is placed Lafayette's library.

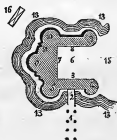
11. The part corresponding with Lafayette's bed-chamber.

12. The central tower, surmounted by a lightning conductor.

13, 13, 13, 13. The moat which surrounds the château.

15. The park lawn.

16. The pavilion of the American canoe.



The château has two stories besides the ground floor. The servants' bed-rooms are immediately under the roof. The walls are ornamented and covered on the outside with creeping plants, such as ivy, Virginia jasmins, &c. They are surrounded with thick bushes and fine trees, and enormous weeping willows, which rise to the roof.

or tranquilly incline their branches towards the waters of the moat, which is about thirty or forty feet in breadth, and seven or eight in depth. It no longer completely surrounds the château, Lafayette having had it filled up on the side of the court, from which there is now a level passage to the lawn. The waters of the moat, which are limpid and contain fine fish, are fed by a stream that runs from one of the ponds of the farm. On the outside the moat is reached by a gentle slope, covered with a green sward, enamelled with flowers. On the ground floor of the château, and communicating with the vestibule, are a small chapel, a large dining-room, capable of containing forty or fifty persons, and, further on, the kitchens. A wide and handsome stone staircase, perfectly well lighted, leads to the two receiving-rooms, to Lafayette's museum, and to the corridors which conduct to the other apartments of the family, and to those reserved for friends.

Lafayette's apartment on the second floor, is composed of an ante-chamber, a bed-room, and a library, the windows of which look upon the park, and command the buildings of the farm, that may be seen almost in a straight line at about the distance of fifty yards. All these apartments are very neat and clean, well kept, and furnished with the greatest simplicity. I shall give a summary description of such of the objects composing the furniture as may interest you.

At the entrance of the vestibule are two small pieces of cannon, which the Parisian populace, at the period of the revolution of July, had mounted upon coach-wheels to attack the troops of Charles X. The conquerors had them afterwards re-mounted upon new gun-carriages,

and presented them to Lafayette. In front of the touch-hole of each is the following inscription, engraved in prominent characters :—

THE PARISIAN PEOPLE
TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE,

AUGUST 3, 1830.

Near the cannons a white cockatoo reposes on his perch. This fine bird, which was presented to Lafayette in 1829, by Benjamin Constant, always welcomed the General, whom he seemed perfectly to distinguish from the other inmates of the château, testifying the utmost joy at his approach, and lavishing on him the most affectionate caresses whenever he stopped near his perch.

The small chapel opening on the vestibule is now hung with black, and is reserved for the exclusive use of the members of the family. It is distinguished by extreme simplicity. The altar is decorated with a crucifix of ivory and with silver candelabra. On the walls, and opposite to each other, are placed two tablets, on one of which is written the 129th Psalm, vespers of Wednesday; and on the other, the lesson from the book of Tobias, chapter 13.

On the wall of the vestibule, facing the great door of the saloon, may be seen a trophy of flags, grouped with considerable art and feeling, and most of which recall some historical recollections. Amongst them may be distinguished a tattered flag, taken by the people of Paris from the Swiss Guard, in the days of July, 1830; by the side of it, the tri-coloured flag borne by the child who was killed on the 28th July, 1830, on the

bridge of Arcola; and near them, a flag presented to General Lafayette by the wounded in the hospital after the battle of the Pyramids, as a token of their gratitude; a standard of the 8th regiment of hussars; a flag belonging to the old Paris National Guard of 1789, which is still in good condition, though its colours are almost wholly faded; several American and Polish flags, &c. *

Receiving-rooms.—The first is a large square apartment, well lighted, and warmed in winter by an enormous stove of bronze, in the form of a truncated pillar. On two small book-stands, and forming pendants to each other, are placed the marble busts of Monroe and Quincy Adams, Presidents of the United States. Over the door is seen a painting which retraces a memorable epoch in the life of Lafayette. It represents the port of passage in Spain, where, after many vicissitudes, General Lafayette embarked at the period of his first departure for America. The vessel, freighted by him, with the American flag at the head and the French flag at the stern, is represented as just setting sail, crossing the narrow entrance of the harbour, and gaining the open sea to bear to the New World the man who was to ensure its independence. The painting is by Robert. To the right and left of the door are two other paintings by the same master. The one represents the French federation, seen from the triumphal arch which was erected in the Champ de Mars on the side of the Seine. The perspective of this picture is admirable, and gives a perfect idea of the grandeur of the solemnity

* Since the death of Lafayette these flags have been placed in the ante-chamber of his apartment.

which after days of discord and mourning seemed to have united all the French in one family. The other painting, which represents the demolition of the Bastille, is full of life and movement, and bears evidence of having been executed by a painter still under the emotion of the terrible scene which he had witnessed. The populace, excited to the highest pitch of frenzy, are under arms, and have rendered themselves masters of the fortress, all traces of which they wish to destroy by uprooting and detaching the stones that compose the building. Enormous masses are levelled to the ground, and soon fill with their smoking ruins the deep ditches that surround the Bastille. A great part of the scene of destruction, which is strongly characteristic of the time, is enveloped in clouds of dust and smoke. The painting which I have just described, was exhibited at the Louvre in 1790. Lafayette examined it in company with one of his friends, and in the height of his admiration exclaimed, that "whoever might become possessor of it, would be a happy man." Robert was at that moment standing behind the General, and lent an attentive ear to the judgment pronounced on his painting. On hearing the last words, he advanced towards Lafayette and said, "General, be happy; that picture is yours." From the date of that meeting commenced an acquaintance between the General and the painter,—an acquaintance which afterwards ripened into friendship.

Beneath the two paintings just described are placed the portrait of Commodore Morris, commander of the Brandywine frigate, who brought Lafayette back to France on the occasion of his last voyage from America,

and that of the American General Greene. On the wall to the right are the beautiful engravings of the American Declaration of Independence, and the "Farewell Address" of President Washington.

The most remarkable ornament of this room is a marble bust of Lafayette, from the chisel of David, placed on a small pedestal between the portraits of Washington and Franklin*. The flag of the American frigate, the *Brandywine*, presented to Lafayette by Lieutenant Gregory, shades the portraits of these three friends, whom it seems to unite, while its azure folds, spangled with silver stars, float above their heads. The effect of this group is admirable, and recalls so many noble recollections! The guest of the American nation could not be better placed than between the two principal founders of her liberty. In accordance with the result of a deliberation of the city of New York,—a deliberation with which you are no doubt acquainted,—the name *the nation's guest*, was for the first time given to Lafayette, on the occasion of his last visit to America.

The second receiving-room is round, like the tower in which it is situated. Its hangings, which are simple, are of stuff, with white and nankin-coloured stripes, and it is ornamented with a handsome bronze bust of Washington, by David. Above this bust are placed the portraits of John Adams, and Quincy Adams, his son, both Presidents of the United States. These two portraits are placed opposite to those of Presidents Jefferson,

* These portraits are handsome copies, executed from the originals, the first by M. Scheffer, and the second by Madame Adolphe Perrier, one of Lafayette's granddaughters.

Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. Though by different artists, all these paintings are admirably executed, and, above all, possess, according to Lafayette, the merit of being perfect likenesses.

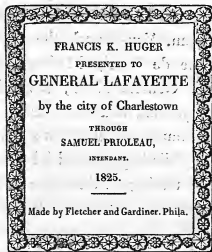
On each side of the chimney-piece are placed, as companion pictures, first, the portrait of the ill-fated Bailly, the first Mayor of Paris, a man as estimable for his probity and information as for his courage, and who perished on the scaffold at the period of our first revolution. Lafayette, after giving an account of the affair of the Champ de Mars to the Bailli de Ploën, terminated with these words:—"This, sir, is a statement of the affair of the Champ de Mars, which subsequently, and when crime obtained a triumph, became one of the causes of the long and painful sufferings by which the illustrious and excellent Bailly expiated amongst the Parisians the services which he had rendered to them; the atrocity of the assassins being equalled only by the magnanimity of the victim." Second: The portrait of the unfortunate Duke de la Rochefoucauld, President of the department, who was massacred at Gisors, at the same period. On the chimney a neat *pendule* separates the bust of General Riego, who died for liberty, from that of his wife.

A small staircase leads to the private apartment of Lafayette. The ante-chamber is lighted by means of a skylight from above. Near the entrance-door, to the left, is placed the portrait of the corporal of the prison of Olmütz, to whom I have already introduced you. The bed-chamber is an irregular square, and the hangings are of yellow silk. The bed and the rest of the furniture are simple and neat. The walls are covered

with paintings, drawings, and engravings, the principal of which I proceed to describe. Above the five doors of this chamber are as many half-length family portraits painted in oil colours. They are as follows:—first, Lafayette's father, killed at the age of twenty-six, at the battle of Minden (Lafayette was then but two years old); 2d, his mother; 3d, his grandmother; and 4th, his two aunts, who took care of his infancy, and for whom he entertained the greatest respect and affection. Opposite to the bed may be seen a fine portrait of Marshal de Noailles. Among the engraved or sketched portraits are those of Fox, General Fitzpatrick, Thomas Clarkson, Henry Clay, the Duke de Noailles, Kosciusko, Jackson, Jefferson, Clinton, Crawford, Calhoun, Van-Ryssel, the Count de Mun, Necker, Madame de Staël, Madame d'Hénin, Madame de Tessé, General Knox, General Foy, Léon Dubreuil, the physician, and the master and friend of Cabanis, &c. I must also notice a small *silhouette* of Judge Peters of Philadelphia, and a handsome portrait of Lally Tolendal tearing off the crape which covers the bust of his father, whose memory he had just vindicated.

On one side of the chimney may be observed a large miniature which deserves attention, both on account of the individual represented and the beauty of its execution. It is the portrait of Mr. F. K. Huger, who may be called Lafayette's deliverer, although his bold attempt to release him from the prisons of Olmütz was not crowned with success. You, no doubt, know that this worthy son of Major Huger, of South Carolina, at whose house Lafayette was a guest at the period of his

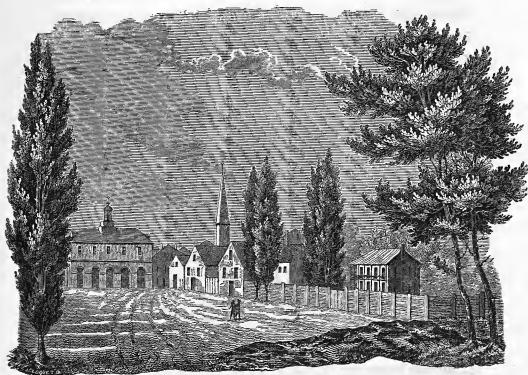
first visit to America, had the generosity to give himself up in order to facilitate the escape of Lafayette and Bollmann. I shall never forget the vivid and agreeable emotion which I felt on seeing this portrait for the first time. It is said to be a striking resemblance. The forehead of M. Huger is broadly developed and characterized by a noble expression. The face is oval, slender, and high complexioned; the nose rather prominent and the lips thin. The eyes, which are blue, approaching to grey, are full of expression. The *ensemble* of this fine countenance bespeaks a man of fine feelings, elevated soul, and determined character.



The portrait is surrounded with a gold frame decorated with rose bows and other ornaments in excellent taste, and inclosed in a box of massive gold. It was presented to Lafayette in 1825 by the city of Charlestown, as may be seen by the foregoing inscription, which is placed behind the box, and surrounded by a carved gold frame.

Above the bed is a painting representing a meeting

of the superior officers of the American army, (Lafayette amongst the number,) and the staff of General Rochambeau, at the siege of York Town. Of the drawings the most remarkable are: a view of the residence of John Adams, by his granddaughter Miss Eliza Quincy; and Mr. Hancock's house at Boston; Washington's tomb (an engraving); and a view of Fayetteville, a small town situate on the western bank of the river Capefear, sketched in 1814 by M. Horace Say.



In 1814, my friend M. H. Say, the son of the celebrated political economist, on his way from Charlestown to New York, passed by the capital of North Carolina, to which the gratitude of America has given the name of Fayetteville. The town was then by no

means populous, and consisted of only two large streets in the form of a cross, at the intersection of which was the governor's residence. The view of the country presented nothing picturesque, but the name given to the town induced the young traveller to take a sketch of it. On his return to France, thinking that such a mark of attention might not be indifferent to the General, he had a frame made for his sketch, (with a copy of which I present you,) and sent it to him. In 1818, M. H. Say's brother-in-law, M. Comte, one of the editors of the "*Censeur Européen*," was persecuted by the restoration, and found a hospitable shelter at Lagrange. Lafayette wrote to M. H. Say to invite him to spend a few days at his country seat. My friend accepted the invitation, and one morning, as he was on the point of taking a walk in the park, a servant apprized him that the General desired to see him. As soon as M. Say entered his cabinet, Lafayette cordially pressed his hand, made him take a seat by his side, and said to him—"I have been deeply affected at seeing that you thought of me in the United States. There is your drawing, which I have kept near me. I shall probably never see the place itself, but you have at least given me an idea of it." At that period he little thought that some years afterwards he should make his triumphal entry into that very town!

On the occasion of his last visit to America, on his approach to Fayetteville, although the weather was very bad and the rain fell in torrents, he said to Bastien—"We shall now see if M. Say has given a correct representation of the town of which he has sent me a

drawing." He immediately knew it from the recollection that he preserved of the sketch, on the correctness of which he complimented the author on his return to Paris.

On the drawers is placed a silver vase carved with considerable taste, and presented to Lafayette by the midshipmen of the Brandywine frigate. When he embarked on board that vessel for France, the President of the United States had decided that each State should be represented by a midshipman, so that the frigate received twenty-four of those young men, instead of eight or ten usually to be found on board vessels of her rank. These young officers, deeply affected by Lafayette's paternal friendship to them on the voyage, begged him at parting to allow them to present him with a lasting token of their attachment. The vase which they determined to offer him was executed in Paris, under the direction of Mr. Barnett, Consul for the United States, and sent to Lafayette shortly after his arrival. The neck of it is surrounded with vine-leaves gracefully arranged, and two heads of river-gods serve as the handles. The American eagle, which is carved on one of the sides, and which hovers in front of a cloud spangled with stars, grasps in one of his talons a bundle of javelins, and in the other an olive-branch. Acanthus leaves ornament the base of the vase, the square stand of which, supported on four lion's feet, presents on three of its sides an equal number of bas-reliefs, representing, first, the capitol of Washington; secondly, Lafayette's visit to the tomb of Washington; thirdly, the arrival of the Brandywine at

Havre. On the fourth side of the stand is engraved in English the following inscription :



Near the vase is a box inclosing the silver epaulettes, embroidered with three stars, which Lafayette wore as commander-in-chief of the National Guards.

Beside the chimney is placed the cane which Lafayette habitually carried, and which had been given to him by Commodore Taylor. The head of the cane is simply a stag's horn, with a gold plate, on which may

be read the words—"Commodore Taylor to Général Lafayette."

In the presses of the bedchamber are preserved the General's clothes, and many other interesting relics. Amongst the former may be remarked, first, the complete uniform of a grenadier of the Warsaw National Guard, presented by the Poles, and which Lafayette frequently wore: secondly, a complete blue cloth suit, given to him by the Americans of Carolina. The cloth of the coat, and the massive gold buttons by which it is ornamented, are of Carolina manufacture: on the buttons is the effigy of Washington.



The Library.—Placed in one of the towers of the chateau, its form is circular, and it is well lighted by two large windows. It is composed of three divisions, the shelves of which are supported on white pillars of an elegant form. Presses masked by fictitious titles of folio volumes, and drawers filled with a variety of interesting objects, occupy the lower part. The pillars are surmounted by an equal number of large oil paintings, in the cameo style, and representing Diétrich, Van Ryssel, Desrousseaux, Franklin, Washington, Bailly, Laroche foucauld, Lavoisier, Malesherbes. These paintings are separated, and surmounted by six small urns, on which are inscribed the names of Daverhout, Laurens, Desaix, Mandat, Kalb, Gouvion.

The best works of history, the political and moral sciences, literature, fine arts, and especially agriculture, are preserved by handsome bindings. Most of these works were given as presents to the General. Many of

them are in foreign languages, and especially in German and English. A particular place has been reserved for American books. With regard to the latter, I must not forget to mention a superb manuscript folio, ordered by the city of New York for Lafayette, and on which he set the greatest value. This book, which was transmitted to him at Washington, on his birth-day, by a deputation from New York, contains the acts and deliberations of that city, and a narrative of the events which relate to his stay there. It is adorned with vignettes and handsome drawings, executed with the pen. The penmanship of the work was executed by Mr. Bragg; and the drawing and vignettes by Messrs. Burton, Inman, and Cumming. The paper is of American manufacture; the binding extremely rich, and executed by Mr. Forster, of New York. To preserve the volume from injury, it has been placed in a mahogany box with lock and key.

Two mahogany arm chairs, and four ordinary chairs, covered with morocco leather, and a table with a desk, form the furniture of the library, where are also two chairs, the cushions of which were embroidered by Madame Lafayette. In the table-drawers are two seals: one of cornelian, worn by Lafayette on his first voyage to America, bears his cypher, surrounded with the motto which he had adopted—"CUR NON."



The other seal is that habitually used by him, and given to him by Mr. Barnett, consul for the United States in Paris. It represents the head of Washington surrounded with rays.



Near one of the windows of the library

is placed a speaking-trumpet, the use of which I shall presently explain.

Of the objects contained in the presses and drawers of the library, which might of themselves form a museum, I shall now introduce some to your notice.

First, a Roman banner ; a trophy presented by the city of Lyons to General Lafayette when he relinquished the command of the National Guard, after the formation of the Constituent Assembly. Lafayette had a high value for, and preserved with gratitude, this testimony of esteem, given to him by the inhabitants of the second city of France, at a memorable period of our first revolution. Thus, when in 1829 the General had been harangued by M. Prunelle, in the name of the citizens of Lyons, he, in his answer, reminded that functionary, that at the solemnity of the federation, he had with the utmost transport applauded the new banner of the department of the Rhone. "It was on the occasion of that sublime anniversary," added he, "that I received from the city of Lyons the symbolic present which you have done me the honour to mention, and which I have ever preserved as a precious talisman—an indissoluble tie that binds me to her welfare."

The following is a brief description of the trophy, of which you are above presented with a sketch. A civic



crown of oak-leaves, surmounted by the Gallic cock, enchases a large shield, on one side of which is represented the self-devoted Curtius precipitating himself into the gulf, whose flames already envelope his horse's breast. On the other side of the shield is the lion, which has been adopted as the arms of the city.



Under the crown, on the first cross piece, are inscribed the initial letters C. L. O. C., *Cives Lugdunenses optimocivi*.

Second, a civic crown of silver, given to Lafayette in 1829, by the inhabitants of the town of Grenoble. The oak leaves with which this crown is encircled, and the acorns placed at different distances, are tastefully and exquisitely wrought.

Third, a gold medal, presented to Lafayette by the children of the public schools of Hartford, and on which may be read :—

THE CHILDREN OF HARTFORD,

TO LAFAYETTE,

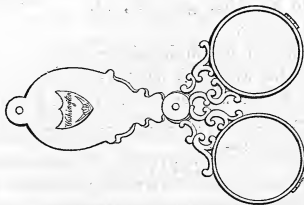
4TH SEPTEMBER, 1824.

Fourth, a handsome medal, which the electors of Meaux caused to be struck in honour of Lafayette. It was engraved by our skilful artist M. Gatteaux, and bears on one side a striking likeness of Lafayette, with two dates which recall two memorable epochs of his political career—1789 and 1830. On the other side, a civic crown forms a frame for the following words in bas-relief.



Many of the objects consist of *souvenirs* of General Washington, which Lafayette preserved with religious care. The following are the principal :

Fifth, an ivory-handled pair of glasses, mounted in silver, and used by Washington during the latter years of his life. One side of the handle bears a silver shield, on which may be read the word "Washington." The glasses are enclosed in a morocco leather case.



Sixth, a long handled parasol with an ivory top, which the illustrious President of the United States usually attached to his horse's saddle, to protect himself on his travels from the burning rays of a Carolina sun. The

colour of the stuff with which the parasol is covered has almost entirely faded.



Seventh, the last piece of tapestry embroidered by Mrs. Washington, at the age of seventy. It represents shells of the comb shape, regularly arranged, and covers a handsome cushion, presented to Lafayette, as expressed in the inscription which is behind it, on the 31st August, 1821, by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, granddaughter of Mrs. Washington.

Eighth, a ring, enclosing Washington's and his wife's hair. Lafayette having proceeded in 1824 to visit the tomb of his illustrious friend at Mount Vernon, M. Castis, grandson of Mrs. Washington, presented to him the ring, in the name of the family, at the same time requesting him to bequeath it after his death to his eldest grandson, M. Oscar Lafayette.



The chestnut hair in the middle of the ring is Washington's: the white hair on each side, that of his wife. Around the hair are the words, "PATER PATRIÆ"; on the sides, "MOUNT VERNON"; and behind, the following inscription :—

LAFAYETTE

1777

PRO . NOVI . ORBIS . LIBERTATE .

DECERTABAT . JUVENIS .

STABILITAM . SENEX .

INVENIT.

1824.

Ninth, *the decoration of Cincinnatus*, worn by Washington. Mrs. Lewis, who had inherited this precious ornament, made a present of it in 1824 to Lafayette, with a request that it should be afterwards given to his second grandson, M. Edmond Lafayette. After the war of independence, the officers of the American army had established the order of Cincinnatus, with a view to form amongst themselves a bond that might remind them of their ancient union. The object of the society was, first, to perpetuate the memory of the American revolution, and to keep up a friendship among the officers, and the union of the States: secondly, to form a capital, the interest of which was to be employed for the relief of the widows and orphans of such as had fallen in the war. Washington had been named president of the order, the suppression of which he, at a later period, demanded from the General Assembly, as it had excited a spirit of jealousy and animosity amongst his fellow-citizens. The society of Cincinnatus, feeling the deepest gratitude for the generous assistance which America had received from France, and being desirous of perpetuating ties of friendship between the officers of both countries, had sent the decoration of the order to the Counts d'Estaing, de Grasse, de Barras, de Rochambeau, and to Lafayette, the unfortunate Lapeyrouse, &c. The decoration, of enamelled gold, is framed in a laurel crown, sustained by two *cornucopiæ*, interwoven together, from which issues fruit, and which are themselves suspended to the ribbon by an oblong ring formed by two tresses attached together. The American eagle with extended wings occupies the middle of the crown, and bears a shield on

each side. On one of the shields may be seen Cincinnatus leaning on his plough, and receiving the Roman



deputies, who present him with the sword of the dictator. Around it are these words, written in letters of gold on a sky-blue ground: "OMNIA . RELINQUIT . SERVARE . REMPU." On the other shield may be observed Cincinnatus resuming his agricultural labours, and conducting a plough. At a little distance is his cottage. This little scene is illumined by the sun, and around are the words :—" SOCI . CIN . RUM . INST . A.D . 1783.

VIRT. PRÆ." The figures of the shields are of dead gold, the ground of green, and the back ground of carnation enamel. The decoration is attached to a sky blue watered silk ribbon, edged with a white piping, in token of the alliance between France and America, and held together by a gold clasp. The ribbon used by Washington is half worn out. On the morocco leather box which encloses the decoration are the words "Washington's Cincinnati Badge."

Tenth, a cane which was formerly used by Franklin; given to Lafayette on his last visit to America.

Eleventh, a pin, the square medallion of which contains the hair, and presents the cypher of Franklin. This pin was sent to Lafayette by his friend's granddaughter. On the back are engraved the words *Benjamin Franklin*.



Twelfth, a ring, which presents the portrait and contains the hair of Jeremy Bentham. That celebrated English writer bequeathed it by will to Lafayette. Round the ring are engraved the words—*Memento for General Lafayette*. Behind the medallion may be observed the hair of Bentham plaited, and



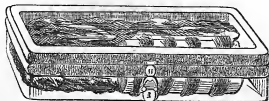
around, the words—*Jeremy Bentham's hair and profile*.

Thirteenth, a crystal box, mounted in gold, and closed with a small padlock. It contains some mournful *souvenirs*. Just before he perished on the scaffold, the brave Riégo untied his cravat, and sent it to his wife, with a lock of his hair. Madame Riégo divided the cravat and the hair into two halves, one of which she kept for herself, and sent the other to Lafayette. The latter was deeply affected on seeing the precious relics: they are clearly distinguished through the pure crystal of the box, on which may be read the following simple inscription:—

TERESA EL RIEGO

Y RIEGO.

The piece of cravat, which is of black silk, is placed in the bottom of the box, the hair being rolled upon a card. The annexed draught, which is but a third of the size of the original, may give you an idea of the whole.



In 1824, when Lafayette replied to a speech addressed to him by M. Campe, the President of the committee of Spanish refugees at New Orleans, he said, while speaking of Spain, “Liberty will soon return to enlighten and to fertilize that interesting portion of Europe. Then, and then only, will the manes of Riego,

of his young and ill-fated spouse, and so many other victims of superstition and tyranny, be appeased." *

Fourteenth, a round box, which is a curiosity on account of the wood of which it is composed. The box is of walnut-tree wood, and on the lid is a circle divided into four parts, each of which is formed of a different species of wood. The following inscription in English may be read on the back :—" Relics of the olden time. Gift of J. F. Watson, member of the society of Penn, to General Lafayette, when he was at Germantown, 20th July, 1825. The walnut-tree wood is from the last tree of the forest of Penn, cut down in 1818, opposite to the Hall of Independence. Piece of the wood of another tree of Penn existing at Dush-hill. The elm-wood is from the treaty tree. The oak is from the first bridge constructed on the Dock creek. The mahogany is from the house of Christopher Columbus."



Fifteenth, several other boxes of different shapes and sizes, made from the wood of the tree so well known in the United States, by the name of the "treaty tree," under which William Penn concluded with the Indians the treaty for the cession of the territory of Pennsylvania.

Sixteenth, a large ivory-headed cane, made from the wood which served for the first monument erected to

* Levasseur, Vol. II. page 216.

the memory of General Warren, who fell at Bunker's Hill, on the 17th June, 1775, fighting for the independence of his country. The gold circle which surrounds the cane, bears an inscription in English, stating that on the 17th June, 1825, (the anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill,) it was given to General Lafayette, by the members of the Charlestown lodge of King Solomon (in the State of Massachusetts).

Seventeenth, a cane, the head of which presents the portrait of Lafayette, and which was given to him under the following circumstances, at the period of his last visit to your countrymen. An old American captain sought him out at Nashville, and embraced him with tears, saying, "I have had two happy days in my existence—that on which I landed with you at Charlestown, in 1777, and this day. I have seen and embraced you : I now desire to live no longer." He then added, "I have nothing but this cane, on which you see your portrait : I request you to accept it, and to keep it in memory of one of your old soldiers and companions in arms." Lafayette often made use of this cane. The above circumstance reminds me of the story of a worthy locksmith, the father of a family, who was brought to me at the hospital of St. Antoine, on the 28th July, 1830. The poor man, whose thigh-bone had been shattered by a ball, said to me, "I feel that I am mortally wounded ; but whilst being carried hither I met Lafayette : he pressed my hand—I die content." The unfortunate man expired a few days afterwards from the serious consequences attending his wounds.

Eighteenth, a cane, presented to Lafayette by a deputation from the inhabitants of Bergen, on the occasion

of his last visit to America. It is made from the branch of an apple-tree, under which he had breakfasted with Washington when they both passed through the town together during the war of the revolution. The apple-tree was blown down by a storm in 1821. These various circumstances are engraved on the gold head of the cane.

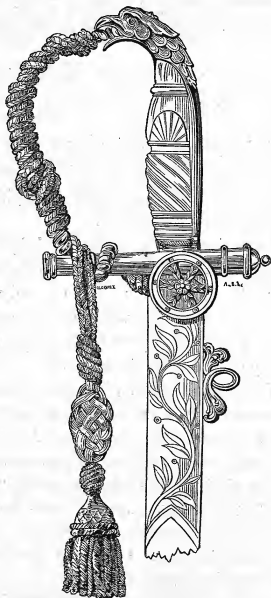
Nineteenth, a very handsome sword, given to Lafayette by the New York Militia, on the occasion of his last visit.

Twentieth, a sword manufactured at New York, and presented to Lafayette on the 10th September, 1824, by Colonel Muir, at the head of the 9th regiment of artillery of the State of that name.

The handle is of ivory, surmounted by an eagle's head, which is of carved gold, as well as the rest of the mounting. The guard is a small cannon, with movable wheels, the spokes of which are formed of laurel branches. The different parts of the handle are joined together by twisted work in good taste. The blade, which is damasquined in gold, presents different allegorical figures relating to the military art, and to the liberty and union of the States of North America. The American eagle is represented there surmounted by a streamer, on which may be read the words, "*E pluribus unum.*" The scabbard of the sword is of copper gilt, and carved, and terminating in a quiver surmounted by the Phrygian cap. On one of the sides is engraved the following inscription:—

"Presented to Major General Lafayette by Colonel Alexander M. Muir, in behalf of the officers of the ninth regiment N. Y. S. artillery, 10th September,

1824, as a small token of the esteem in which he is held by them for his private worth and distinguished services during the war which gave INDEPENDENCE TO THE UNITED STATES."



LETTER X.

PARIS, October 25th, 1834.

TWENTY-FIRST, the sword of honour of the United States is unquestionably one of the most interesting objects of Lafayette's collection. More than half a century ago it was delivered to him at Havre, by Franklin's grandson, on the part of the American Congress, as a testimony of gratitude for the services which he had rendered to the nation. On transmitting the sword to Lafayette, Franklin addressed to him the following letter in English :—

“ TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

“ Passy, August 24th, 1779.

“ SIR,

“ The Congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgments. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express everything but the sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you. I

therefore only add, that, with the most perfect esteem, I have the honour to be, &c.,

“B. FRANKLIN.

“P.S. My grandson goes to Havre with the sword, and will have the honour of presenting it to you.’

On receiving the present from the United States, Lafayette addressed to Franklin the following letter, also in English :—

“THE MARQUIS OF LAFAYETTE TO B. FRANKLIN.

“Havre, August 29th, 1779.

“SIR,

“Whatever expectations might have been raised from the sense of past favours, the goodness of the United States for me has ever been such, that on every occasion it far surpasses any idea I could have conceived. A new proof of that flattering truth I find in the noble present which Congress has been pleased to honour me with, and which is offered in such a manner by your Excellency as will exceed anything but the feelings of my unbounded gratitude.

“In some of the devices I cannot help finding too honourable a reward for those slight services which, in concert with my fellow soldiers, and under the godlike American hero's orders, I had the good luck to render. The sight of those actions, where I was a witness of American bravery and patriotic spirit, I shall ever enjoy with that pleasure which becomes a heart glowing with love for the nation, and the most ardent zeal for their glory and happiness. Assurances of gratitude, which I beg leave to present to your Excellency, are much too inadequate to my feelings, and nothing but those senti-

ments may properly acknowledge your kindness towards me. The polite manner in which Mr. Franklin was pleased to deliver that inestimable sword lays me under great obligations to him, and demands my particular thanks.

“With the most perfect respect, I have the honour to be, &c.,

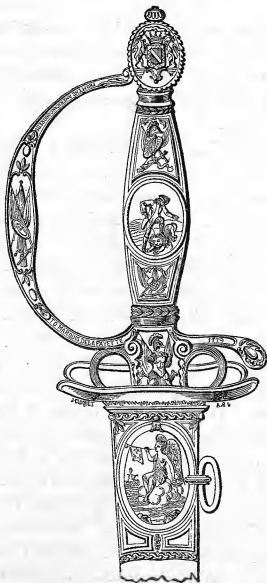
“LAFAYETTE.”

The weapon may be regarded as a *chef d'œuvre* of art. The handle and the mounting are of massive gold admirably carved, and presenting a variety of subjects, of which I shall give you an analysis, aided by a few simple drawings.

During the reign of terror, Madame Lafayette, who was then at Chavaniac, had the sword buried, and it was thus for many years concealed and secured from revolutionary Vandalism. On his return from America, M. George Lafayette had the weapon disinterred; but it had paid tribute to its subterranean captivity, the blade having been completely eaten and destroyed by rust. M. George was able to preserve only the handle and the mounting, which he carefully concealed, and succeeded in conveying to his father in Holland, although it was then extremely dangerous to take away gold from France. On Lafayette's return to his country after the 18th Brumaire, he conceived the happy idea of adjusting to this handle the blade of a sword presented to him with a statue of Washington by the National Guards of Paris, when he made his *adieux* to that force on the 8th October, 1791. The last-mentioned blade, which is manufactured from the iron bolts and bars of the Bastille, in order to consecrate the arms of despot-

ism to the defence of liberty, presents some allegorical subjects connected with the taking and destruction of that celebrated state prison.

The knob of the handle presents on one side a shield with Lafayette's arms—a marquis's coronet, surmounted by a streamer, on which is inscribed the motto "CUR NON." On the other side is a medallion representing



the first quarter of the moon, whose rays are shed over the sea, and the land of the American continent, which is perceived in the horizon. The coasts of France form the foreground of the scene, surmounted by a floating band, on which are read the words, "CRESCAM UT PROSIM"—an allusion to the rising liberty, and the subsequent prosperity of America. In the centre of the



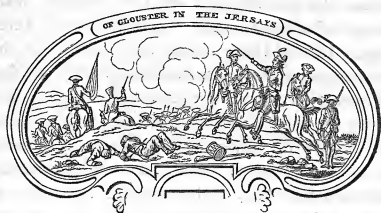
handle, on each side, are two oblong medallions: the first represents Lafayette, who has drawn the sword, and overthrown the English lion at his feet. The general is on the point of dispatching him, but he pauses, extends his hand, and seems inclined to spare his life. On the other medallion America is represented as having just broken her fetters. She is portrayed under the form and features of a young half-clad female, seated under a military tent. In one hand she holds her broken chains, and with the other she presents a laurel branch to Lafayette.

Above and below the two preceding medallions are carved piles of arms, and two crowns of laurel which encircle the handle. On the sides of the guard are other trophies of arms; and on one of them are the words, "FROM THE AMERICAN CONGRESS TO MARQUIS LAFAYETTE, 1779."

The curved parts of the guard are carved on both sides, and represent on their medallions four memorable events of the American war, in which Lafayette was distinguished by his prudence or his courage. I shall place them before you in succession.

1. THE BATTLE OF GLOUCESTER IN THE JERSEYS.—When, after the unfortunate affair of Brandywine, the English general Howe occupied Philadelphia, Washington detached General Greene with three or four thousand men from his main body, and ordered him to take measures for the defence of the forts. On Greene's approach, the English general, who had just seized the forts, was already occupied in embarking provisions at a point on the Delaware called Gloucester's Point. Greene did not venture to interrupt this opera-

tion, which was protected by a body of troops superior in number to his own, and by the guns of the English squadron. Previously, however, to retreating, he permitted Lafayette (who had recovered from his wound received at Brandywine, and who still served as a volunteer) and Colonel Butler to attack with 300 men a picket of

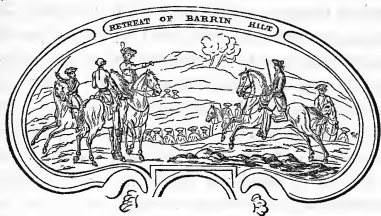


the enemy of the same numerical force. The attack was made with great impetuosity, and was crowned with the most brilliant success, the English being driven back into their entrenchments with considerable loss. In this affair, which took place in the month of November, 1777, Lafayette distinguished himself by his extraordinary bravery, and General Greene said of him, that he appeared to seek danger in every quarter. He commanded 150 militia troops, the rest of the detachment being composed of carbineers. This battle is represented on the bas relief, above which may be read—
"BATTLE OF GLOUCESTER IN THE JERSEYS."

2. **RETREAT OF BARREN HILL.**—In the spring of 1778, General Washington ordered a corps of upwards of two thousand picked men, under the command of Lafayette, to make a sortie from their entrenchments at

Valley Forge, to advance upon the English, to keep in check their detachments which ravaged the country round Philadelphia, and to harass their rear guard, should they decide upon evacuating the town, which appeared not improbable. In consequence of these orders, Lafayette took up a position at Barren Hill, between the river Skuylkill and the Delaware, at the distance of about ten miles from the lines of Valley Forge. General Howe having been informed of this movement, reconnoitred the American general's position, and resolved to attack him without delay. Accordingly, between the night of the 19th and the morning of the 20th May, a detachment of 5000 men marched under the orders of General Grant, succeeded in turning Lafayette's left wing, and established themselves at nearly a mile in rear of his position, whilst another but a less numerous detachment followed the banks of the Skuylkill, in order to seize upon a ford which was on his right flank. The situation of the American vanguard had thus become so perilous, that the danger was perceived even at the camp of Valley Forge, and the whole American army was immediately under arms, and ranged in line of battle. Lafayette, at a single glance, saw the imminence of the danger, and perceived that he was surrounded on every side by superior numbers, by whom he must be speedily attacked, and that he was too completely separated from Washington to hope for relief from that general. He nevertheless preserved an admirable degree of *sang froid*, and unhesitatingly adopted a resolution which was no less bold than its execution was skilful, and its success prodigious. With only a few men he suc-

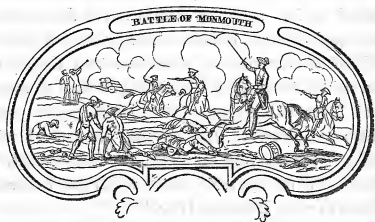
ceeded in imposing upon the English, whilst by a rapid movement of the flank, his principal column gained a ford on the Delaware which was not guarded, but which was nearer to General Grant's position than to



Barren Hill. That officer was so completely deceived by the firmness of Lafayette's appearance, that he reached the ford only just in time to see the American rear-guard pass, and to witness its junction with the main body of the detachment, which was now already entrenched on the opposite bank, and safe from all attack. In his letter to Congress, General Washington passed a high eulogium on the skill and presence of mind displayed by Lafayette in conducting this retreat, represented by the bas relief, above which may be read—
"RETREAT OF BARREN HILL."

3. BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.—After the evacuation of the city of Philadelphia by the English army, the American officers were divided in opinion as to the expediency of giving battle to the enemy on their retreat towards New York. The majority were of opinion that a general action should be avoided, and that

opinion prevailed. Washington, however, who was of a contrary way of thinking, resolved to harass the English with a division of 4000 men, and in the event of that force becoming too much exposed, to support it with his whole army. The command of the division devolved by right on General Lee, but that officer, who was opposed to every measure that might lead to a general engagement, voluntarily relinquished it in favour of Lafayette, who agreed in opinion with Washington. Lee, however, soon changed his ideas, and having been sent to join Lafayette with a reinforcement of 1000 men, resumed the command of the entire detachment. In the action, which was fought almost immediately, and which was one of the most important and the most hotly contested in the American war, Lafayette proved worthy of the brilliant reputation which he had already



acquired. The bas relief represents the heat of the action. The American artillery pours destruction on the English army, which is completely put to the rout. In front is seen Lafayette on horseback, and sword in hand, rapidly scouring the field of battle. Further on

are some dragoons fighting hand to hand, and on the left are observed some American artillerymen picking up balls to sustain the fire of their batteries. Above the bas relief are the words — “BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.”

4. RETREAT OF RHODE ISLAND. — The English had returned to New York, and Washington was preparing to encamp near them on the banks of the Hudson, when he was informed of the arrival of Count d’Estaing with a French fleet. That admiral wished first to attack the English fleet at anchor in the bay of New York; but the information which he obtained made him apprehensive that his heavier vessels would be unable to clear the bar that obstructs the entrance of the harbour. Accordingly, after a conference with the American general, he decided upon sailing for Rhode Island, which had been occupied by the enemy in force almost from the beginning of the war. At the same time a body of 12,000 troops, two brigades of which were commanded by Lafayette, assembled under the orders of General Sullivan, on a point of the continent opposite to that island. These troops landed without difficulty, and soon forced the English to fall back upon their works at Newport, to which the Americans regularly laid siege. Scarcely had they opened the trench when an English fleet appeared in the roadstead, and Count d’Estaing lost no time in offering battle. After a number of evolutions performed on both sides for the space of three days, the two squadrons were separated and their vessels dispersed by a tempest. On Count d’Estaing’s return to Newport his fleet had suffered so much that he declared his intention of not remaining there, but of proceeding to

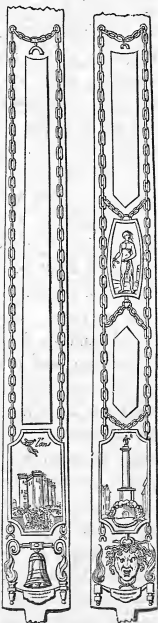
Boston. In spite of the remonstrances of the American generals he set sail, and Lafayette was despatched to him with a fresh application. During the absence of the latter, the English attacked the American lines with impetuosity and were repulsed. Sullivan, however, knew that there was no longer any obstacle to prevent them from receiving reinforcements from New York, so that his troops were exposed to the most imminent danger. He therefore decided upon making a retreat, which he effected with no less skill than success, though threatened by a formidable enemy. He



had scarcely commenced his retreat when Lafayette arrived from Boston, and was immediately invested with the command of the rear-guard, with which he contributed most powerfully to ensure the success of a movement on which perhaps depended the fate of the war. The retreat was effected between the night of the 30th and the morning of the 31st August, 1778. The Congress, after several other eulogiums equally well merited, praised Lafayette more particularly for the personal sacrifice to which he had submitted, in consenting to undertake a mission that must necessarily

prevent him from putting himself at the head of his division on the eve of a battle. Lafayette is represented as surrounded by a number of American officers, and protecting the rear guard. He is placed on the foreground of the bas relief, above which may be read—
 “RETREAT OF RHODE ISLAND.”

The blade of the sword is flat and double-edged. On one side is a medallion damasquined in gold and suspended by chains of the same metal, which detach themselves admirably on the azure ground of the steel. It represents the taking of the Bastille. The populace of Paris, placed in the fore-ground of the scene, lay siege to the fortress, the ramparts of which give way under the repeated fire of cannon. The besieged make a vigorous resistance from the summit of the towers, and Fame traverses the air, announcing by sound of trumpet the first year of liberty. Beneath the medallion are two lighted flambeaux from the centre of which issue the supporters of a bell put in motion to sound the tocsin. These flambeaux are joined by a crosspiece supporting a drapery, on which may be read—
 —“*The revival of liberty.*”



On the other side of the blade may be observed four medallions, also supported by chains tastefully arranged. In two of these medallions the polished steel of the blade is seen bare; in a third is seen a prisoner breaking the fetters which had attached his feet and hands, and quitting the stake to which he had been bound: the fourth represents the column of liberty erected on the ruins of the Bastille, and commanding the other buildings, which are perceived on the sides. Beneath the latter medallion is represented the head of Medusa, and on each side two fires, the flames of which melt chains interwoven together, and supporting and uniting these different objects. On the drapery, at the bottom, are engraved the words—" *Year IV. of liberty.*"

The mounting of the scabbard is of gold, and carved. On one side is perceived a large oval medallion, which represents Fame borne on clouds. The goddess crosses the ocean, preceding the vessel which conveys Lafayette back to France, and which is perceived in the horizon. In one hand she holds the crown awarded to Lafayette by America, and in the other the trumpet with which she announces his exploits to France, as indicated by the three *fleurs de lis* embroidered on the banner of the instrument. On the other side is an irregular shield encircled with a laurel branch, and intended, I believe, to receive Lafayette's cipher.

A volume would not suffice to describe the precious objects carefully preserved by Lafayette, and methodically arranged in his library. We must not, however, quit the château without some brief notice of a little Museum, in which he kept almost all the objects that he had received from the United States. This really Ame-

rican Museum is on the first story, near the door of the grand saloon, and on entering, the visitor is perfectly astonished at the inconsiderable size of the apartment destined to it. Accordingly the objects enclosed in it, some of which are suspended to the walls, and others placed on the furniture or in a press with glasses, have not sufficient room, and are piled one over another.

The room which now serves for the Museum was formerly the entrance to the apartment of Madame Lafayette. After the death of his wife, Lafayette walled up the door of communication, and the apartment, such as it was at that period, has since remained closed. On certain stated days, however, the General repaired thither by a back door, either alone or in company with his children, to pay homage to the memory of Madame Lafayette, who was, in every respect, worthy of the tender and respectful recollections of her whole family. On approaching the sanctuary, the visitor is seized with a feeling of pious respect, and is irresistibly reminded of the following portrait which M. de Ségur drew of this excellent woman the day following her death:—"She was a model of heroism, and likewise of every virtue. During her captivity and her misfortunes, her blood imbibed the poison which, after protracted sufferings, terminated her existence on the 24th December, 1807. Exact in the discharge of all her duties, which formed her only pleasures, adorned by every virtue, pious, modest, charitable, severe towards herself and indulgent to others, she was one of the few whose unsullied reputation received new lustre from the misfortunes of the revolution. Ruined by that stormy period, she seemed scarcely to recollect that she had

once enjoyed opulence. She was the happiness of her family, the support of the poor, the consolation of the afflicted, the ornament of her country, and an honour to her sex."

In the Museum are preserved models of machines, mills, reservoirs, Indian boats, &c.; a number of objects belonging to natural history, stuffed birds and reptiles, shells, and minerals, which Lafayette had brought back from his travels, or which had been given to him. A quantity of weapons are to be seen there, bows, arrows, javelins, darts, tomahawks, &c., ornaments, collars, Indian pipes, implements for fishing and the chase, Indian dresses and costumes*.

From the court of the chateau there is a level entrance into the park, which contains seventy-two French acres of natural meadow, about as many of

* Amongst the latter must be noticed :—

1st. The cap of an Indian chief, and his standard, formed of a black falcon's skin, (the chief bore the name of that bird.) President Jackson intended both of these curiosities for Lafayette, and was on the point of sending them to him when he was apprized of the General's death. He then addressed them to his children, to whom he transferred the friendship which he had entertained for their father.

2d. A species of embroidered black gaiters and the racket of the celebrated Indian chief Mackintosh.

3d. A handsome box, shut with a lock and key, and containing a crystal flask, in which some water from the canal uniting the North River to Lake Erie was sent to Lafayette on its being opened.

4th. Some wax lights belonging to Lord Cornwallis. The chests containing them, and addressed to Lord Cornwallis, were found only in 1824, in a house which Lafayette occupied at York Town, and in which, forty-three years before, the English general had resided. The Americans employed these wax lights for the il-

wood, and a few acres of vineyard. It surrounds a portion of the buildings of the farm. The alleys, which are in some places winding, in others straight, and which cross the park; the foot-paths which intersect it in every direction; the groves, as well as the wooded part of the property, which is called La Garenne, and in which are to be found one of the ponds and two springs which supply the chateau with water, were laid out by the General, aided by the advice of his friend Robert, the landscape-painter.

The aspect of the place is delightful, especially on walking at some distance from the front of the château before sunrise. In the distance, the building, enveloped in mist, then seems at first confounded with the dark masses of the surrounding trees; but as daylight appears, the immense carpet of verdure which separates the spectator from the château becomes coloured and enamelled with flowers: the towers begin to stand out,

lumination of a fête which they gave to Lafayette, and afterwards presented him with several of them.

5th. Some weapons and projectiles picked up on the field of battle at Brandywine.

6th. Two silver spoons—a sample of the plate manufactured in America for the Brandywine frigate, on the occasion of Lafayette's return to France.

7th. A fragment of the American frigate, the Alliance, which conveyed Lafayette to France, after his first voyage to the United States. Presented by Mr. J. T. Watson.

8th. A number of maps of the different States of North America, most of them presented to Lafayette by the capitals of those States, and enclosed, some in silver boxes, the rest in long thick tin cases, among which may be seen one upwards of eight feet in length.

and seem to rise from amidst the trees by which they are surrounded; and their foliage, soon afterwards, lighted by the sun's first rays, forms an agreeable contrast with the grayish tint of the old walls. This calm and imposing scene receives a degree of animation from the warbling of the birds, the sounds of human labour, and the joyous songs of the workmen about the farm, the bleating of the sheep which issue from their folds, and the lowing of the cows as they quit their stalls.

In the park is comprised a good enclosed kitchen garden, crossed in its greatest diameter by an alley, at each extremity of which is an iron gate. In one of the copses of La Garenne, Lafayette constructed an excellent ice-house, which contributes in abundance to the luxuries of the château.

In the park, on the way from the château to the farm, are two small buildings, on which I must bestow a brief notice. One is a grated enclosure, a sort of ménagerie, in which Lafayette kept such foreign animals as were sent to him. After his return to France, he had received, from Governor Clarke, a young gray bear from the Missouri territory. Ever animated with the desire of being useful to his fellow-citizens, he refused to keep so rare an animal at Lagrange, and made a present of it to the professors of the Museum of Natural History, to be placed in their ménagerie. The other building is an elegant pavilion, situated under the windows of the library, and covered with a tiled roof, supported by slight wood-work. Its pillars are joined together by a wooden grating, and its form, which is long and narrow, explains the object of its construc-

tion. Lafayette caused it to be built for the preservation of a canoe presented to him by the Whitehalls of the port of New York.



The canoe had been victorious in a species of sham fight with the boat belonging to the English frigate, the Hussar,—a contest which sensibly piqued the pride of both nations. The canoe is extremely narrow and lengthy, made for rapid sailing, painted blue inside, and brown, with a yellow band outside. On the benches are inscribed the names of the sailors who gained the day. On each side is the inscription :

AMERICAN STAR, VICTORIOUS DECEMBER 9TH, 1824.

The oars are placed in the form of a cross on each side of the bark, which is supported on four props. The Whitehalls, after their victory, refused 3000 dollars, offered by the captain of the English frigate, for the canoe, in which they conveyed Lafayette to the entrance of the bay of New York. This little monument must interest you, as an American ; and I therefore furnish you with a sketch of it, in which I have suppressed the

pillars and the grating in front, to give you a better view of the canoe. How I wish that the gallant sailors who manned it could visit Lagrange! There they would see how Lafayette valued the light skiff, which rapidly skimmed the waves under the efforts of their vigorous arms, and served at once as the instrument of their victory and as their triumphal car!

The Farm.—The land of the farm is in general of a compact soil. Five hundred French acres are cultivated; the remainder consists of wood, or meadow-land. The arable land is divided into portions of twenty French acres, each surrounded with apple and pear trees. Besides the pond of La Garenne, there is another, much more considerable, situate on the road from Coulommiers to Nangis, and sprinkled with small islands covered with shrubs. Agreeable excursions are made to it by means of a little boat with sail and oars. The woods, planted with different sorts of trees, and especially with oak and beech trees, comprise nearly 230 acres: the trees, which attain twenty years' growth, are regularly cut. The farm is divided into two large courts. In the first, which is the larger one, are the sheep-folds, cow-houses, stables, hen-roosts, an aviary, a dairy, a large barn, and the farmer's lodging. The sheep-folds are spacious, airy, and extremely clean, and contain from 1000 to 1200 sheep. Some are for the ewes and their lambs, the others for the sheep or the lambs separately. There is also one which is used as a species of infirmary for the sick animals, but it is almost always empty. The cow-houses, stables, &c., are constructed and kept with the greatest care. The aviary is a sort of grated pheasant-walk, where are kept some handsome birds

which were given to Lafayette ; and amongst the number a crested crane, some gold and silver pheasants, some Chinese hens, Carolina ducks, Louisiana geese, hoccas from Mexico, partridges peculiar to America, &c. There are two large dairies, with a churn. The buildings of this part of the farm contain also an oven, a kneading-trough worked by machinery, and a steam-engine with its tubs in wood, given by Mr. Morris. The latter machine serves to boil messes of potatoes intended to fatten cattle, and especially pigs. The farmer's lodging is remarkably neat : the furniture, though simple, conveys an idea of comfort and easy circumstances. The registers of the farm are kept with great regularity on shelves, in the office : persons of the most delicate habits might dine with pleasure at the long table, well supplied with earthenware, on which the servants take their meals.

The other court of the farm consists of, 1st, a large building, which contains the year's crop of wheat, and the middle of which is occupied in both its stories by a handsome threshing-machine ; 2d, a large building for pigs, capable of containing from 100 to 150 animals, remarkably clean, and emitting no disagreeable smell, —a rather unusual circumstance in such places ; 3d, a building which contains the cider-press and the wine-tubs ; the liquor is conveyed by subterranean pipes into the cellars, which are at the distance of about fifty yards from the building ; 4th, handsome outhouses for the carts, ploughs, and underneath, large cellars, in which are preserved the crops of beet-root and potatoes. The straw and dung which form the manure are watered by a pump.

LETTER XI.

PARIS, November 1st, 1834.

AMONGST the animals in the farm of Lagrange, the flock of merinos, the first and the finest ever introduced into France, are the most remarkable. The breed has been successively improved, and has on several occasions obtained the prize, for the fineness of its wool: the flock consists of about 1000 animals, which are of considerable size. There are also thirty or forty cows at Lagrange, some of which are from the canton of Schwitz, in Switzerland, some are of the Norman breed; two cows and a bull are of the English breed, from Devonshire, and were given to Lafayette by the celebrated agriculturist, Mr. Coke, of Holkham. There are also some cows of the same breed, which came from the United States. The pigs are of different breeds; some very large ones were sent from Baltimore; some of them are Anglo-Chinese. A number are crosses from the country breed with that of Baltimore. Some years ago a handsome Chinese boar fought desperately with a rival from Baltimore, and was left dead on the spot. The conqueror himself died of his wounds in a few days. Lafayette more particularly regretted the first, which was young, and of the largest breed. The horses used for the service of the farm form four teams. In one of the stables is the white horse mounted by Lafayette in 1830, on the review days of the national guard. Old age now begins to make the strength unequal to the

will of this old servant ; but in the pasturage and the stables of Lagrange he has found a sure retreat till the end of his existence.

If from the cattle we pass to the crops, we shall find them to consist principally of corn, hay, lucerne, potatoes, beet-root, and apples and pears for cider.

From what precedes, you may judge that for himself Lafayette preferred a country to a town life. As soon as he was able he retired to his farm, where he enjoyed a tranquillity of mind that invigorated his powers, exhausted by the occupations in which he had been engaged in Paris. It must not however be supposed that he abandoned to repose the time which he spent at Lagrange. When he devoted himself to agriculture, he sought relief from his fatigues in occupations different from those which had produced them. His family and friends were not afraid of bodily exercises for him, but only of the sufferings of the mind. They were well aware that the former strengthened, whilst the latter visibly injured his health, and began in his case by almost always producing a nervous cough.

Lafayette usually slept but seven hours, and his sleep was light, peaceful, and rarely agitated by dreams. He justly thought that early hours were favourable to health ; and that protracted sleep, instead of refreshing, enfeebled the vigour of the body, by the species of torpor which it invariably produces. He made his servant awaken him at five o'clock in the morning, and he was in the habit of remaining one or two hours longer in bed, engaged in reading or writing. As soon as he had risen, he dressed himself for the day, paid to the memory of his wife the affecting homage of which

I have already spoken, and then employed himself in his private cabinet till ten o'clock, when he came down to breakfast. After this first meal, he perused the French or foreign journals, and about twelve o'clock went to the farm, where he remained at least two hours every day. He returned to his own apartment at three o'clock, occupied himself with his correspondence and other business till six, when the bell rang and was heard to a considerable distance, announcing the dinner-hour to the persons in the château, and to those who were walking in the park. After dinner, in bad weather, Lafayette passed the evening in the drawing-room, in conversation with his children and friends, and in the reception of strangers who came to visit him. When his family alone was present, he frequently withdrew at eight o'clock to his own apartment, where he wrote or studied; but before he retired to rest, at about half-past ten, he generally re-entered the drawing-room to exchange good-night with his children.

During his stay at Lagrange, Lafayette employed the greater part of his time in directing the labours of his farm, in the perusal of works on the practical part of agriculture, in bringing to perfection farming implements and utensils, or in improving the cultivation of land. He was familiar with the art of cultivation, and felt a pleasure in speaking of it, made most of his experiments on a large scale, and almost invariably succeeded in them. Although occupied only with the general direction of these labours, he was no stranger to their minutiae: he knew that the most important matters are composed of petty details, and not a tree was cut down at Lagrange without his orders. Nothing in the park

or farm was given up to luxury or unavailing ornament, and the agreeable was always, when necessary, sacrificed to the useful. His intention was simply to make a *ferme ornée* of Lagrange, with alleys well laid out, good and handsome plantations, and nothing more. He was not fond of flowers, or rather he had no time to bestow on their cultivation; besides, the cattle would not have respected them. Accordingly, in the latter years of his life, only a few handsome plants were cultivated for the ladies of his family. The meadows of his park were not mowed, but his flocks and herds undertook to clip them and to remedy their exuberant vegetation. Not even the ornamental groves of the park were spared by them, for the leaves of the trees were nipped by them as high as they could reach.

The lands of Lagrange were the best cultivated of any in the canton, and by that very circumstance were easily distinguished from those of Lafayette's neighbours, to whom he set an example. The peasants, who imitated him, considerably improved their condition, especially since the year 1816. At that period, Lafayette had planted five thousand feet of apple and pear trees: the peasants at first laughed at his plantations, but as they soon perceived that he obtained abundant crops from them, that the cider made at Lagrange was excellent, and sold well, they also began to cultivate those trees. The country is at present covered with them, and cider is the ordinary beverage of the inhabitants.

Early in the morning Lafayette inspected the labours of the farm, from one of the windows of his library which commanded a view of its buildings and courts.

He saw the forage distributed to the cattle, and the speaking trumpet which I have mentioned was used by him to give orders to his farmer, whose vigorous lungs enabled him to dispense with such an instrument in making his reply.

Lafayette knew that exercise was favourable to his health, and for that reason he proceeded on foot to the buildings of the farm, and saw his wheat, hay, and other crops gathered in. As he found some difficulty in walking, he mounted his horse to visit the more distant parts of his farm, especially at the harvest and haymaking seasons. For the last seven or eight years, he generally on those occasions made use of a small and very light Russian calèche, which ran with ease across the fields.

Lescuyer, who was vigorous, active, intelligent, and a man of the strictest probity, managed and still manages the farm of Lagrange. From the year 1818, Lafayette had inured him to agricultural labours, looked upon him as his pupil, and treated him with the utmost regard and confidence. The farmer kept with the greatest regularity a set of books, in which the produce and the expenses of the farm were regularly noted down, and in which every article, even to a jug of milk or a quarter of a hundred of eggs, furnished for the use of the château, was strictly accounted for. Lafayette took this set of books with him on his last voyage to America: he lost one of them at New York, and regretted the circumstance extremely. One day he shewed his books to M. H. Say, and asked him, as a mercantile man, if he approved of his mode of keeping his accounts: he then expatiated at some length on the

advantages which agriculture may derive from a good system of accounts, and on the analogy existing between a large farm and a manufactory. He remarked to M. Say, that the large alleys of green turf, which after crossing made the tour of his property, had been planned for purposes of utility as well as of ornament; that his cattle browsed as they moved along, and were thus obliged to take the exercise necessary to their health by going round the domain before they returned to their folds or stalls. He liked to see his cattle well treated and well fed, and accordingly took particular care of them in that respect. One year, when the crops had not been plentiful, he perceived that the farmer, through mistaken economy, was sparing in his distribution of food to the pigs, and that the poor animals became lean and mangy in consequence; he therefore recommended him to feed them more abundantly, and to spare nothing that might restore them to a healthy state. He was already seated in his carriage to return to Paris, when the farmer came to him and repeated his assurances that he might make his mind easy about the animals; that he would take care in his master's absence to wash and rub them frequently. "Rub them well inside," replied the general, "if you wish to fatten them and give them a healthy skin." During his last triumphs in America, Lafayette did not forget Lagrange. With the arrival of every packet-boat, his farmer received instructions as to the improvements to be effected, so that on his master's return the latter reaped the advantage of a number of ameliorations and embellishments which he had projected on the other side of the ocean.

What more particularly distinguishes the system of farming adopted at Lagrange is, that a number of artificial meadows are made there of clover and lucerne, that the manure is perfectly well adapted to the nature of the soil and that of the crops, and that there is no fallow ground. The produce of the farm is regular and very considerable, and yet few establishments of equal importance, are as well kept with so small a number of hands: there are not more than sixteen or eighteen servants, such as farmers' assistants, carters, cowkeepers, shepherds, &c., and thirty or forty workmen by the day. In harvest time, and when the crops are gathered in, the number of individuals employed does not altogether exceed seventy or eighty.

At meal time the general's family and friends assembled in the dining-room at the sound of the bell. Each guest took his customary place, or that assigned to him by the ladies of the house, who did the honours of the table. The appetite of all was excited by the exercise or the amusement which they had taken, by the keen air which they had breathed, and especially by the pleasure they felt on sitting down to Lafayette's table, at which there were seldom fewer than five-and-twenty or thirty guests, and the centre of which was occupied by the venerable head of the family. These agreeable dinners were rendered still more attractive by the warm welcome given to all, and by the politeness and tranquil, but unanimous satisfaction which was the prevalent feeling. The expression of happiness might be read on every face; the conversation was sometimes general, but was more frequently carried on in small parties and between neighbours. Lafayette had ba-

nished from his table silver covers, and rare and expensive dishes and wines; his habits of temperance forbidding him to waste his time and destroy his health in protracted and sumptuous dinners. Without being extravagantly furnished, his table was varied and delicate. The general's grandchildren, and even his great-grandchildren, partook of these meals, and, young as they were, conducted themselves with the greatest propriety. Their excellent education, and I will add their good natural dispositions, prevented them from being troublesome, as is too often the case in France, and I believe in other countries, where parents are not aware that they fatigue strangers by the display of memory or pretty behaviour which they exact from their children, or by the liberties which they allow them to take. After dinner the company repaired, in fine weather, to the lawn before the château: some of them walked about, whilst others sat down under the shade of some tree around Lafayette. In the midst of his numerous family,—a family so full of hope and promise already realized,—the General appeared like some old forest tree surrounded by vigorous shoots that seemed destined to perpetuate the virtues of the parent stock, and to do credit to their noble origin.

In one of your letters, Sir, you requested me to give you some information as to Lafayette's ancestors. Being little conversant with that subject, I shall merely repeat the facts stated by one of our countrymen, M. Monneron, on the occasion of the fête given to the General by the French residents at New York, on the 11th of September, 1824, in celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Brandywine. "In the fourteenth century," said M. Monneron, "the Lafayettes in the

province of Auvergne already exerted themselves to improve the condition of those who were then called *vassals*. In the fifteenth century, Marshal de Lafayette expelled the enemy from the territory of France. In the sixteenth century, Mademoiselle de Lafayette was represented as a model of beauty, virtue, and charity. In the seventeenth, Madame de Lafayette composed works which will be handed down to the remotest posterity; and in the eighteenth was born General Lafayette, the sworn foe of tyranny and the friend of liberty. In his youth he contributed most powerfully to uphold and defend the cradle of liberty in the United States. In his more advanced age he appeared in the public tribune: he spoke of liberty in Europe as he had defended it in America. From the tribune he passed into the ranks of his country's defenders. I have seen him amidst the perils of the revolution, where he was never abandoned by his genius and his coolness. Quick in conception and bold in execution, he invariably fought for the cause of genuine freedom. I state facts, as an eye-witness and as a faithful historian. Behold these trophies, these flags, these standards: all bear the inscription of

“LIBERTY, VICTORY, LAFAYETTE.”*

It would be a delicate matter for me to speak of the qualities of General Lafayette's children, or of those of the relatives whom he acquired by their matrimonial connexions. I could not do so without inflicting a

* “*Lafayette en Amerique en 1824 et 1825*”, by Levasseur. Vol. I., p. 202.

wound on their delicacy; and besides, those who do not know them might take my truths for compliments. I therefore abstain from touching on this subject, deeming it sufficient to inform you that his relatives are, in every respect, worthy the head of their family. A simple list of them will afford you a summary acquaintance with their names; this mode of presenting them to your view will be the most concise, and will enable you at a glance to perceive the ties of relationship existing between them. At the moment of his death, Lafayette had three children, eleven grandchildren, and twelve great-grandchildren.

LAFAYETTE, married to Mademoiselle de NOAILLES, had three children.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>1.
Mad^{lle} Anastasie Lafayette,
married to M. Charles de
Maubourg; two children,</p> | { | <p>1st. Mad^{lle} Celestine, (Mad^e de Bri-
gode,) four children.
2d. Mad^{lle} Jenny, (Mad^e Duperon,)
one child.</p> |
| <p>2.
M. George Washington La-
fayette, married to Mad^{lle}
Emilie de Tracy; five
children.....</p> | { | <p>2 married. { 1st. Mad^{lle} Natalie,
(Mad^e Adolphe Per-
rier,) three children.
2d. Mad^{lle} Matilde,
(Mad^e Bureaux de
Pusy,) one son.
3. Mad^{lle} Clementine.
4. M. Oscar.
5. M. Edmond.</p> |
| <p>3.
Mad^{lle} Virginie Lafayette,
widow of Colonel de Las-
teyrie; four children....</p> | { | <p>2 married. { 1st. Mad^{lle} Pauline,
(Mad^e de Rémusat,) two children.
2d. Mad^{lle} Melanie,
(Mad^e de Corcelle,) one child.
3. M. Jules de Lasteyrie.
4. Mad^{lle} Octavie.</p> |

The families allied to that of Lafayette—the Tracys, Lasteyries, Maubourgs, Ségurs, Perriers, &c., frequently visited and passed some days with the General, at Lagrange. So numerous were his friends that it would be impossible for me to enumerate them without forgetting some amongst the number. There is one, however, whom I cannot omit—one as estimable for his private worth as for his attachment to Lafayette, to whom he devoted his existence, and to whom he was a second son. You are already acquainted with M. Carbonel, for you must have seen him with Lafayette in Paris or at Lagrange. General Carbonel, formerly head of the staff of the National Guard, formed an intimate acquaintance with M. George Lafayette in 1805: they were both at that period aides-de-camp to Grouchy. They had embarked together at Holland for the expedition projected against England. The expedition did not take place, and the two friends made the campaigns of Austerlitz and Poland, after which they were obliged to separate. Napoleon, who was still irritated by Lafayette's vote against the consulship for life, constantly refused to his son the promotion demanded in his favour by all his superior officers, and particularly by Murat, who wished to appoint him his aide-de-camp. His several years' brilliant success as a lieutenant, his wounds, his gallant achievements, were unable to overcome the obstinacy of the emperor, whose injustice surprised the whole army, and added still further to the well-merited esteem and consideration acquired by the young officer. After a number of fruitless efforts to follow a career in which he delighted, and which ought to have been a glorious one, he felt that

he owed a duty to his family: he sent in his resignation, and was obliged to separate from General Carbonel, who had been more fortunate on the score of promotion. After the wars of the empire, however, he was again united to his friend, who subsequently resided in Lafayette's house, and devoted to him the greatest share of his time. His affectionate regard for his host was as unbounded as the marks of kindness and confidence which he received from him. He took care of him, along with his children, up to his last moments, and found consolation for his loss only in the midst of his excellent family.

I here transcribe a letter written, in English, by Lafayette to his friend Masclet, on the subject of his son's position in the army.

“Paris, 28 Pluviose.

“I have not this long while heard from you, my dear Masclet: sure I am, nevertheless, that you do not forget your friend, and that you have been pleased with George's good fortune on the Mincio. He was in the wing, and under the general who fought and won the action. The eleventh regiment of hussars was the most distinguished. My son had for his share three bullets, but slight wounds. General Dupont tells me he had named him in the account of the battle. George insisted on the suppression of the mention made of him, unless the same was done in favour of his wounded comrades. His wounds would have been sooner cured, had he not remained with the regiment as long as there was something to do, which caused an inflammation and

a *dépôt* in his arm. But when the eleventh hussars made the blockade of the forts of Verona, which put them out of the way of danger, George got into the city, where he was very well taken care of. When General Dupont saw him last, he was in good train of recovery, although he yet wore a scarf. His side was still less damaged than the arm. So that the danger of the battle, which has been great, being over, we have had nothing to fear, and much to rejoice at. I give you those details, as I know you will enjoy them. Here is a good, honourable, solid peace. I am going this evening to the entertainment given on the occasion by Talleyrand; nor shall I lose the opportunity to remind him of Eleutheros. There is one of our countrymen arrived at Calais, Joseph Cursay, who is waiting for a passport. You know it is only an affair of time, but we wish to shorten it. Madame d'Hénin knows him particularly. A recommendation from you to Commissary Mingo, who might write to Paris for the permission, or any other efficacious means you may think of, would much oblige us. My affectionate respects to Mrs. Masclet. Your friend,

“L. F.”

Lafayette was absolutely adored by his relatives and friends, who studied his slightest wishes, and sought, by a thousand delicate attentions, to concur in prolonging or embellishing the last years of his existence. It may with truth be said that he might with the utmost confidence have abandoned to others the task of taking care of an existence which seemed no longer to apper-

tain exclusively to himself. A community of happiness, of feelings, and affection, existed amongst all the members of Lafayette's numerous and excellent family ; but as in human life trouble and sorrow are more frequent than satisfaction and pleasure, it often happened that all were afflicted at the same time with the personal misfortune of one of them, or of a common friend ; for the friend of one was necessarily the friend of the rest. I have on many occasions been a witness of their affliction, in which it would have been impossible for me to avoid participating, for it was genuine and heartfelt.

In the year 1828, about the middle of Autumn, M. George Lafayette came post to Paris, to take me to Lagrange, where my professional assistance was required for the eldest son of his old preceptor, M. Frestel, who had met with a severe accident on a shooting party. We reached Lagrange at eleven o'clock at night, and found the General, with his family and friends, assembled in the drawing-room, where they anxiously awaited our arrival, and my opinion on the state of the wounded man. Young Léon Frestel's gun had burst ; and his right hand, which had been laid open to the wrist, was horribly shattered : I was obliged to amputate the last three fingers. His father, who was endowed with uncommon strength of mind, did violence to his feelings, and refused to quit his son during the operation, which the patient supported with the utmost courage and resignation. As soon as I returned to the drawing-room, the interest displayed by Lafayette, his children, and his friends, in behalf of the poor young man, was intense ; and I really am unable to describe their eagerness to know my undisguised opinion of his

situation, or the emotion, the relief, and the happiness felt by them on learning my hopes,—a happiness alloyed by the pain of knowing that the sufferer was mutilated. Such scenes are too exciting; the feelings inspired by them, and the emotions and expressions which characterize them, are too multiplied and too various to admit of an attempt on my part to pourtray them. They must be witnessed, for they belong to those circumstances of human existence which leave a deep impression on the soul, and are always more easily conceived than described. Dr. Sautereau continued to attend the wounded man, who soon recovered, and who afterwards himself constructed an extremely simple machine as a substitute for the fingers which he had lost. A few weeks before the breaking out of the cholera morbus, M. Léon Frestel, who had commenced his career under the happiest auspices, fell a victim to a severe inflammation of the chest.

At Lagrange, the visitor breathed a purer air, and tasted the charms of retirement without the weariness of solitude: all in that peaceful retreat inspired a happy calm, and a feeling of affection for the human species, which there appeared under the most favourable colours. Every inmate there felt that he was in some sort restored to nature, and that he might give a free vent to his thoughts, or to the expression of his happiness. There every one appeared as he really was, and saw only in the distance, and characterized by their real insignificance, the scenes of the great world, the personages of which think themselves obliged to act a part, and consent to be deceived, in order that they in their turn may deceive others. The luxury, the frivolity, the

brilliant pleasures, and the nothingness of Parisian society were banished from Lagrange. The General scrupulously avoided incommoding the liberty of his guests, to whom every mode of amusement was afforded. You were allowed without constraint to indulge your taste for study, for drawing, or for conversation ;—you were at liberty to gather from Lafayette himself all the information that you might require for your instruction, for he was a living record of many a memorable epoch, a book whose pages were ever open to such as were worthy to consult them ; and he possessed in perfection the tact of discovering whether the questions addressed to him were dictated by genuine interest or by frivolous curiosity. To those who desired more active amusements, who wished to take exercise, the most delightful promenades were open : they might in a little bark visit the islands of the lakes, indulge in the pleasures of fishing or shooting, sport like children on the grass, or climb the hay-stacks in the park, without being in dread of compromising their gravity. Young and old not unfrequently abandoned themselves alike to those amusements of childhood.

Sometimes fêtes were given at Lagrange, and one of the most interesting was that offered by the inhabitants of that part of the county to Lafayette, on the 9th October, 1825, on his return from America, and the recollection of which has been preserved by M. Levasseur. With the preparations for this fête, the inhabitants of the communes in the neighbourhood of Lagrange were occupied for three days. “ At a certain distance from the château the carriage made a halt, the General alighted, and found himself suddenly in the midst of a

population whose eager transports might have deceived the eye of a stranger, and induced him to suppose that the whole were Lafayette's children. Till evening the château was filled by the crowd, which with the greatest difficulty separated from Lafayette. The inhabitants retired only after having conducted him by the light of illumination and the sound of music, under a triumphal arch bearing an inscription in which they had awarded to him the title of the people's friend. There he was again greeted with the expression of the happiness and joy caused to his good neighbours by his return. During the whole of the next day, the General was occupied in receiving the young girls, who brought flowers and sang couplets to him, also the company of the National Guard of Court-Palais, and a deputation from the town of Rosay. Whilst offering a box of flowers to their friend, the inhabitants of the commune addressed him in a simple and affecting speech, through M. Fricotelle, the head of the deputation; and no sooner had the harangue been pronounced, than the whole rushed into the General's arms, and afterwards into those of his son, M. George Lafayette. On the following Sunday, the inhabitants of Rosay and the environs offered a brilliant fête to Lafayette, the expense of which was defrayed by a general subscription. The preparations, which occupied several days, were the work of a portion of the citizens, who refused the assistance of a single hired labourer. At five o'clock in the evening, the apartments and the courts of the château of Lagrange were filled by upwards of 4,000 persons, many of whom had travelled several leagues to do homage to the man whose name dwelt on every tongue as *the people's*

friend. At seven o'clock, a troop of young girls, marching at the head of the population of Rosay, and singing some simple and affecting couplets in chorus, presented a basket of flowers to the General; and M. Vigné, in the name of the canton, delivered a speech expressive of the most noble sentiments. After thanking the inhabitants of the canton for their kind reception of him, Lafayette terminated by saying:—"I am now restored to this retreat of Lagrange, which is dear to me for so many reasons, and to those agricultural occupations to which you know that I am so much attached, and in which I have for so many years participated with you, my dear neighbours, and with most of the friends by whom I am now surrounded. Your affection, which I most cordially return, renders them doubly precious to me. I entreat you all to accept my thanks for the handsome and affecting fête which you have prepared for me, and which fills my heart with feelings of joy, tenderness, and gratitude." After this answer, which was received with the utmost enthusiasm, the General was conducted in triumph to the meadow, where an elegant tent had been arranged for him and his family. Illuminations tastefully disposed, fire-works, animated dances, a number of shops of every description, a population of more than six thousand individuals,—in a word, everything, contributed to remind Lafayette of some of the scenes of his triumphs in America. Dancing was kept up all night: the cries of *Long live the people's friend!* re-echoed till day-break; and the next morning Lafayette retired within the bosom of his family, and enjoyed the happiness and the tranquillity which the recollection of a well-spent life can alone confer."

Notwithstanding the liberty which Lafayette allowed to his visitors at Lagrange, he never permitted any deviation from the established usages of society. One day a young man having forgot himself in that respect, Lafayette made no observation to him, but whilst treating him with extreme politeness, compelled him to feel that his conduct was disapproved of, and so much so that the giddy young man quitted the château the same evening. Count d'Alva, who acquainted me with this circumstance, of which he was an eye-witness, observed to me at the same time that it was impossible to dismiss a guest with greater delicacy, or with more considerate regard for his feelings.

Lafayette's neighbours, and even strangers, were allowed to walk freely in his park, which was open to them. They even frequently made family parties in the delightful woods which formed its dependencies, and gave fêtes champêtres there, with the assurance of never being disturbed in their pleasures. Most of them justified Lafayette's confidence in them, by refraining from doing the slightest injury to the place, and by availing themselves of the hospitality afforded them without abusing it. It was sometimes, however, to be regretted, that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were less delicate than Lafayette supposed; for some of them at least seemed to believe that the agricultural and other productions of Lagrange were common property, and in this persuasion they made their harvest on his lands, or secretly cut down his timber. At the repeated instances of his keepers, Lafayette sometimes allowed prosecutions to be commenced against delinquents caught in the fact; but what was the result? When a con-

viction ensued, the General allowed himself to be touched by entreaties and tears;—he pardoned the offenders, interceded for them, and ended by paying from his own purse the expenses of law proceedings.

To the indigent inhabitants of his canton, Lafayette's beneficence was unbounded. Two hundred pounds of bread, baked expressly at the farm for the support of the poor, were distributed to them every Monday at the château; and in times of scarcity the weekly distribution was increased to six hundred pounds. The bread thus given was of the same quality as that eaten at Lafayette's own table, and at the seasons last mentioned each individual received a mess of soup, and a sol in addition to his portion. If the poor were seized with some grievous malady, Lafayette visited them, and had them attended to at his own expense by Dr. Sautereau, whose talent is equal to his modesty, and whose devotion to the poor sufferers afforded the best proof of his goodness of heart, and his attachment to Lafayette's family. There exists at Court Palais a charitable institution, founded by the family of Noailles. Lafayette, as having married a Mademoiselle de Noailles, contributed to defray the expenses of this establishment; and besides, such patients as could not be attended to at their homes, were taken care of at his expense at the hospital of Rosay.

Dr. Sautereau had been an inhabitant of Lagrange for thirty-six years, and was in possession of Lafayette's confidence as a physician, and of his affection as a friend. Few have been so well acquainted with Lafayette's private life as he was, and few have felt more admiration for his virtues and his noble disposition. "All La-

fayette's moments at Lagrange", observed he to me one day, "resemble each other, for they are all marked by good feelings or kind actions." It was from him that I obtained the following anecdotes, which he related to me with tears in his eyes, and with the emotion of a man who regretted that he had himself been unable to perform the good actions of which he spoke.

A priest one day in his presence spoke ill of Lafayette, and, by way of answer, he related to him the following anecdote:—When Lafayette became the possessor of Lagrange, he wished to make his property as compact as possible, and with that view purchased several small pieces of land that had been intermingled with his estate. One of these small properties belonged to a peasant named P * * *, who raised all the difficulties imaginable, in order to obtain an exorbitant price for his land: he was even disposed to go to law with Lafayette about a ditch which the latter had dug in his neighbourhood: in short, he took his measures so effectually, that he obtained from the General at least three times the value of his property. Two or three years afterwards, the very same peasant, not content with having fleeced Lafayette, attempted secretly to cut some wood in his park; but, unfortunately for him, he fell from the top of an oak, broke his thigh, and was seized by the keepers, *flagrante delicto*. Lafayette was informed of the accident by the wounded man himself, who had been transported to the château, and who applied to him for assistance. Having learned the circumstances under which he had broken his thigh, the General sent Sautereau to the man to set the limb. When it was observed to him that the individual whom

he assisted was the man who had endeavoured to force him into a law-suit,—“No matter,” replied he, “if I do him good he may feel his injustice to me, and perhaps regret his exaction on the subject of our exchange of property.” The case having proved extremely serious, forty days after the accident Lafayette had the patient transported to Paris, and taken care of at his own expense, though in reality the man was wholly unworthy of his kindness. The fact abundantly proves that the General could forget base conduct, and return good for evil.

In the month of December, 1806, M. Sautereau was summoned to attend an artisan of Rosay, named Cerceau, for a fracture of the leg. The cold was excessive; the poor patient, and his wife who attended him, had but a small provision of wood, but they were aware that their doctor saw patients at Lagrange, and that the excellent inhabitants of the château were always disposed to relieve the unfortunate. They accordingly besought the Doctor to make an appeal to Madame Lafayette’s charity, in order to obtain for them where-withal to warm themselves. M. Sautereau undertook to discharge the commission, and with the greater readiness, as he was persuaded that the demand would be favourably received. The next morning, on paying his visit at Lagrange, he acquainted Madame Lafayette with the wants of his patient, and the necessity of keeping up a fire night and day in his chamber on account of the excessive coldness of the weather. Madame Lafayette, accosting her husband, who was present, asked if the good people might not be authorized to take a quarter of wood in La Garenne. “Nay, my

love," replied he, "give them rather a half cord, and the poor creatures will then be spared the trouble of coming so often." The advice was followed.

M. Sautereau made me acquainted with another trait of Lafayette's humanity and delicacy which is well worth recording. The wife of a certain ex-physician of Rosay, who carried on a trade in brandy to enable her husband to live with respectability, but who had neither the exactness nor the economy necessary to ensure her success in business, had signed a bill payable to order for the sum of four thousand francs, in favour of an individual of Berney, a village near the château of Lagrange. The bill not having been paid when due, was protested. In the midst of her embarrassments, the poor woman, reckoning upon Lafayette's extreme kindness, entreated him to extricate her from her difficulties, and he, affected by her situation, though suspecting her insolvency, consented to pay the bill. Shortly afterwards Lafayette asked M. Sautereau, if the lady whom he had obliged was in a condition to repay him according to her promise. M. Sautereau replied, that in that part of the country she was said to be ruined; that she was selling her furniture by degrees, but that she was still in possession of some valuable pictures, and that, in his opinion, to accept them would prove the only mode of recovering the sum due from her. "I prefer losing the money," replied Lafayette, "to being paid in that manner and I am happy to have it in my power to offer as a gift to the poor woman, what I had advanced as a loan." It is necessary to remark, that the husband of the lady had never been summoned to Lagrange in his medical capacity; that Lafayette was not even person-

ally acquainted with him, and that consequently his generous conduct was not dictated by gratitude, but solely by the desire of doing good. At the period of the famine in 1817, the distress at Lagrange was excessive, and all the poor of the country and of the neighbouring communes were fed at the château. As many as 700 might have been seen there every day. They received economical soup, bread, and money, but unfortunately the purses and the granaries were emptied before the end of the season. Towards the month of June a family council was held at the château, to take into consideration the means of providing for the wants of so many unfortunate creatures. It was observed to Lafayette, that it would be impossible to continue the customary distribution, and that before the expiration of six weeks, nothing would be left in the château. "Well," replied Lafayette, "there is a very simple mode of solving this difficult problem: we can live in Auvergne; by retiring to Chavaniac, we may abandon to the poor what we should have consumed by remaining at Lagrange; their existence will thus be prolonged till harvest time." This proposal was joyfully accepted and put into execution by his worthy family.

During the prevalence of the cholera morbus, which spread havoc in the environs of Lagrange in 1832, Lafayette, in spite of the entreaties of his family, insisted on proceeding to his country seat, to assist the victims of that horrible epidemic, in company with Dr. Thierry. The medicine which he took with him, his ice-house, a considerable quantity of flannel, linen, woollen blankets, and, I may add, his whole house, were entirely at the service of the neighbouring villages. Whilst the scourge

lasted, said M. Sautereau, from whom I have collected the following details, Lafayette was admirably seconded by his son and daughters, Mesdames de Maubourg and de Lasteyrie. M. George and his sisters had summoned to Lagrange M. Cardinal, a young physician remarkable for his zeal and activity. They went together to the villages and houses of the sick, were in movement day and night to assist and console the unfortunate patients, to whom they acted as nurse, and whom they were sometimes obliged to bury when they fell victims to the disease. A boarding-school for young ladies at Court Palais, under the direction of Madame Ducloselle, had been converted by them into an extensive dispensary, where medicine was furnished to all the patients, rich and poor indiscriminately. The villagers, panic-struck by the rapid spread of the epidemic, and thinking only of themselves, were retreating with precipitation from the scene of desolation, and abandoning the sick; but the arrival of M. George and his sisters revived their drooping courage. By degrees they grew ashamed of their weakness, and being convinced by the example of their benefactors that the cholera was not contagious, they began to follow them into the houses, and at last consented to attend to such of their relatives and friends as had been attacked by the malady. "Persons", said M. Sautereau, "whose situation enabled them to estimate the expenses incurred by Lafayette, on the occasion of the cholera morbus, rated them at 38,000 francs."

Towards the close of last autumn, I went to Lagrange, to see M. Jules de Lasteyrie, who was seriously indisposed. There were no strangers at the château,

except the family of Count d'Alva, and an English gentleman, Major Frye. After dinner, the drawing-room was soon filled with infirm or sick peasants, who, having heard of my arrival, came to consult me, and to whom Madame de Maubourg served as guide and interpreter. They were received by the members of the family and its venerable head with evangelical kindness. The picture of charity was before my eyes. On the countenances and in the gestures and expressions of the unfortunate people, might be read the deep impression produced on their hearts by the reception and the consolation which they met with at Lagrange. The effusion of their gratitude was warm, sometimes noisy, but assuredly sincere.

The following fact, simple as it is, will prove how the inhabitants of the country loved Lafayette. About three weeks ago I made an excursion to Lagrange, in a cabriolet. By some fatality I mistook the road, and lost myself towards nightfall in the midst of some ploughed land. After a variety of fruitless efforts, I almost despaired of regaining my road, when at a distance I perceived a glimmering light. Towards this guiding-star I directed my steps, and at last reached the door of a cottage. An aged female, who was the inmate of it, was on the point of retiring to rest, but as soon as she heard of my wish to proceed to Lagrange, she dressed herself in haste, and put on her sabots, and an old cloak, the numerous patches of which attested the owner's anxiety to counteract the ravages of time. She then closed her door after her, and had the kindness to guide me, for more than a quarter of a league, through some most execrable cross-roads. As we went along,

she talked to me, in her own way, of the loss which the country had sustained in the person of the beneficent Lafayette, and gave me to understand that in acting as my guide she merely discharged a debt of gratitude to his memory. When we separated, the good old woman refused my thanks. I was as much affected by her kindness as I was fortunate in having met with her, since, but for her assistance, I should probably have been obliged to wait for daylight to reach Lagrange, which was more than two leagues distant from her cottage.

I shall make no attempt to describe the painful sensations which must be felt by those who now visit Lagrange after the death of Lafayette. As the visitor approaches the spot which its late master preferred to all others, his heart becomes saddened. The ivy planted by Fox, seems now, with its sombre foliage, to be a funereal veil spread over the château. At every step, some mournful recollection is presented. The apartments of the General are closed, and the mourning observed by the members of the family and the household, is in harmony with the sadness which prevails throughout the place not long since embellished and animated by the presence of its late lamented proprietor. Bastien* has retired thither with his wife, as

* Bastien (Sebastien Wagner) whose name is often quoted in these letters, and who is now about fifty years of age, is a quiet, sober, honest, and sensible man, equally attached to his duties and to the masters whom he has served. I look upon him as a type of those honest servants that devote their lives to the families by whom they are adopted, and of whom they actually form part. He was formerly a military man, and in the service of General Carbonel, who, knowing his good qualities, transferred him in 1819 to La-

keeper of the château. The General had, as it were, bequeathed this faithful servant to his children, who could not better fulfil the intentions of their father than by giving him a place at Lagrange.

Such, my dear sir, are the recollections which I have preserved of Lagrange. I cannot terminate this letter without saying a few words respecting another seat, which I have already often mentioned, the château of Chavaniac, where Lafayette was born. The view of it, with which I here present you, has been taken from a handsome drawing belonging to General Carbonel.



Chavaniac is a little village, containing about forty
fayette. With the family of the latter he has remained ever since
that period.

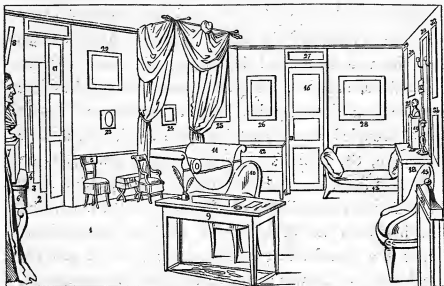
houses, and a population of 250 or 300 souls. It is situate at the distance of three leagues from the right bank of the Allier, in the department of the Haute Loire, the canton Paulhoquet, and the arrondissement of Brioude, which formed part of ancient Auvergne. The estate of Chavaniac is now by no means considerable, having been partitioned at the period of the confiscations. The château itself had been sold as national property, and was afterwards bought back by an aunt of M. George Lafayette. The quality of the land on the Chavaniac estate varies, according to its greater or less degree of elevation, and to its greater or less distance from the rocks. It contains wood, meadow-land, and a handsome stream, as may be observed in most of the mountain villages. The property has not been long in Lafayette's family, having been first brought to it by the mother or grandmother of the General. The château was burnt, and afterwards re-constructed in 1701, as recorded in an inscription still visible on its walls. Lafayette was born there on the 6th September, 1757. It would be gratifying to discover about the place some object that might serve as a memento of his early years, but M. George himself has never been able even to ascertain in what apartment of the château his father first saw the light. No external *souvenir* of the General's infancy exists there, except a portrait of him, taken at the age of nine or ten years.

LETTER XII.

PARIS, November 7, 1834.

LAFAYETTE passed the winters in Paris. At all seasons of the year he resided there during the sessions of the chambers, or when important business compelled him to abandon a country life. For about fifteen years he had occupied a portion of a large hotel, No. 6, Rue d'Anjou, St. Honoré. His apartment, which was on the first floor, consisted of several large rooms forming a suite, corresponding with the front of the hotel, and having each its dependencies and communications: thus the antechamber, drawing-room, study, and the bed-room, which was at the extremity of the apartment, might, when their folding doors were thrown open, be converted into a sort of long gallery; and such was the case on reception-days. The order, simplicity, and neatness, which prevailed at the château of Lagrange, also distinguished Lafayette's residence in Paris. As I cannot help thinking that you must be desirous of preserving a recollection of the chamber in which, surrounded by his children and his friends, that excellent man breathed his last, I shall describe it to you succinctly. The sketch of it which I send you, I copied from a drawing which Madame de Maubourg had taken on the spot after the death of her father. You will easily perceive that the rules of perspective have given way to the necessity, imposed on the painter, of

representing at once, every object in the room. Correctness was the essential point, and to that the artist has attended. The following explanation will stand you in lieu of a description :—



1. The bedroom, the door of which is half open, and allows a view of—
2. The study.
3. The drawing-room.
4. The antechamber; and
5. The entrance-door of the apartment.
6. *Console*, or stand, placed between the two windows, and supporting—
7. The bust of Washington, modelled in clay by Houdon, and surmounted by—
8. The portrait of Kosciusko, presented by the Poles to General Lafayette, on the birth-day of that illustrious defender of Polish liberty.
9. A mahogany table placed in the centre of the room opposite to Washington's bust, and furnished with a movable desk and its accessories: underneath is a small carpet, and behind it—

10. The mahogany arm-chair covered with green morocco leather, used by Lafayette when studying or writing.

11. The bed: the curtains, which are supported by javelins, are of yellow silk, as also the draperies of the windows.

12. The chest of drawers.

13. The sofa.

14. A bedside table.

15. Large easy chair, ordinary chair, and arm chair.

16. Door communicating with the dressing-closet.

17. Door communicating with the study.

18. Black marble chimney, on which are placed a pair of candlesticks, and

19. A pendule, given to Lafayette by Madame de Tracy. Four small turtles form the feet, and it is surmounted by the bust of Washington. Beneath the dial is a small bas relief in bronze, representing the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis.

20. The glass with its two candelabra.

21. A mahogany screen covered with silk.

22. The death of General Warren, at the battle of Bunker's Hill (engraving).

23. Portrait of General Lafayette, executed and presented to him by some ladies (large miniature).

24. A picture of the entrance to the château of Lagrange, painted and presented to Lafayette by Madame Joubert.

25. A large frame, containing a vignette representing the tutelar angel of Poland in prayer, with these words written underneath—"Homage of Gratitude," followed by the signature of 75 Poles who presented the vignette to Lafayette.

26. General Washington's Farewell Address to the people of the United States (engraving).

27. The Declaration of Independence of the United States (engraving).

28. The Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen United States; an engraving presented to Lafayette, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Congress in May 1824.

29. An engraving (from David) representing the oath taken in the Court of the *Jeu de Paume*.

30. The constitution of the Northern United States.

31. A lithographed portrait of the Spanish General José Torrijas, betrayed and put to death on the 11th December, 1831.

32. A frame presented by the Poles, and inclosing in a medalion, surrounded by four paintings on enamel, in the cameo style, the remnants of a flag taken from the Russians, with the following inscription engraved on a gold plate at the back:—"Behold the fragments of the first flag taken from our powerful enemy. All our trophies have disappeared, but the day will come when they shall be restored. We have escaped with these fragments; accept, General, from our hands this memento, which we transmit to you whilst celebrating our day of glory and of mourning. We lay it before you as a tribute of national regard."

33. The Declaration of the Rights of men and citizens, proposed by Lafayette to the National Assembly at Versailles in 1789.

34. A lithographed portrait of M. Dupont (de l'Eure), presented by M. Dupont to Lafayette.

Lafayette employed as his secretary M. Berger, a studious, well-informed young man of remarkable sweetness of disposition, and whom he treated with the greatest affection and regard. His household was not numerous, nor were his two or three servants and his coachman covered with those brilliant liveries which betoken the pomp and vanity of the master; to Lafayette, the simple garments of his domestics, and their attachment to his person, seemed preferable. His carriage was neat, extremely modest in appearance, and always at the service of his children and his friends when he made no use of it himself.

Lafayette's occupations in Paris were extremely numerous. Besides his public duty as a deputy,—a duty which he discharged with scrupulous exactness,—he was obliged to attend various public meetings, committees, relief societies, societies of popular instruction, &c., of

which he was a member, and, notwithstanding these multifarious avocations, he had still time to devote to his domestic affairs and to study. He was fond of society, and when not occupied by business at home, he usually passed the evening with his relations or friends. He often dined *en famille*, and almost every Sunday with M. Destutt Tracy, the father of his daughter-in-law, Madame George Lafayette. He loved as his own his old friend's children; his daughter-in-law, Monsieur and Madame Victor de Tracy, and Monsieur and Madame de Laubespain, who were all worthy of his entire affection, on account of their excellent qualities, and the affectionate respect with which they treated him. After dinner the best society of Paris joined the family party, which usually broke up at a late hour at night, but Lafayette was in the habit of retiring at ten o'clock.

Whenever an author of his acquaintance had a new dramatic piece represented, Lafayette felt pleasure in going to the theatre with his children. He sometimes attended benefit representations, and always preferred the French national theatre and the Italian opera to any other theatre. He also went to balls or concerts given for the benefit of the poor and of refugees, and made it a point to accept invitations to patriotic banquets; that of the American union, given on the 4th of July, he never failed to attend. He felt happy at finding himself amongst his adopted children on the occasion of these national fêtes, of which, as you have been present at them, I forbear to speak. I will, however, transcribe for you one of his letters, written in English, in which he alludes to the American dinners.

“Chavaniac, 16 Thermidor.

“On the very date of your letter from Boulogne, my dear Masclet, I was travelling the road to my native place, which for the delay of my answer is an obvious apology. I heartily thank you to have spared for me some of your busy time, nor can I better acknowledge it than in writing to you on the 4th of August, an anniversary so dear to all friends of equality and liberty. I found my beloved aunt in good health and spirits. I have been well received in my country, and would have found it difficult to disentangle myself from a place in the *conseil général de département*, had I not happened to be neither proprietor therein nor domiciliated. My wife and Virginia are in the *ci-devant* Bretagne, and have been lately stopped on the highway by a royal party, who took off some bags of money in which they had no share. George has a more peaceful time of it, although in the vanguard of the Italian army. The young couple and their child wait for us at Lagrange, where I purpose to be returned by the 15th Fructidor.

“The American dinner, on which you congratulate me, was in every respect very agreeable, particularly so to your friend. Three of the messmates were Kosciusko, Barbé Marbois, and myself. My short stay in Paris was chiefly taken up in mournful visits—widows and orphans of my virtuous friends; some living ones I had the pleasure to meet with. We waited, Latour Maubourg and myself, on the First Consul, lately returned from his glorious, miraculous journey, with whose reception of us we had every reason to be satisfied.

“ You have mentioned to me your speech of the 4th of July. Could I be favoured with a copy of it? My last letter from your young friend George is very old. He was setting out from Milan to Brescia with his regiment, the eleventh of Hussars, who, excepting a detachment of an old forming, had not the good fortune to be at Marengo. Massena is commander in chief; Dupont, chef d'état-major, Davoust, general of the horse. Thus I have answered your kind inquiries. When can I have the happiness to do it verbally? In the mean while be pleased to present my affectionate respects to your lady; and believe me, with every sentiment of sincere regard and tender attachment,

Your friend for ever,

“ L. F.

“ Here is a letter to our friend Dyson; I wish very much it may reach him, as it contains many agricultural queries. I invite Dyson over, telling him that on this side every facility would be given by you. Whether Mr. Pitt's inquisition may be so sociable as to admit of such a visit, I much question.”

Every Tuesday, during the winter season, Lafayette generally gave a *soirée*, at which almost every man of distinction in Paris, whether French or foreigner, considered it an honour to be admitted. It was usually sufficient to present one's self at his house, to meet with that primitive hospitality which has passed into a proverb, and which is now so rarely met with: accordingly, his spacious apartment was always thronged. The two Americas, England, Italy, Poland, Spain, and Portugal,

seemed to have furnished their contingent—the *élite* of their society—to fraternise with our countrymen. The General's relatives and friends, travellers, scientific and literary men, lawyers, diplomatists, men connected with the various branches of industry, met indiscriminately together, and, in the interesting conversations kept up by them, were enabled to make a mutual exchange of the information which they possessed. This intellectual intercourse was extremely animated and interesting, and rendered Lafayette's soirées a sort of congress of intelligence and good feeling—for with him no other than good feeling passed current. Each guest, according to his special acquirements or his capacity, contributed the fruits of his study or of his experience, and was enriched by the wealth which he received in return. The general or private interests of society, theoretical or practical knowledge, the events of modern history, were by turns the subject of conversation amongst the groups, by whom facts and opinions were freely stated, commented upon, and elucidated, in discussions which were always confined within the bounds of good breeding. On retiring at the close of the *soirée*, every guest had reaped his harvest of improvement, with the certainty of having employed his time usefully and agreeably, and to the advantage of his own understanding or that of others. Under the hospitable roof of "the man of the two worlds," Lafayette's guests cemented the bonds of esteem and friendship, which should exist amongst all nations. Etiquette, precedence, and national vanity were banished. All were affable and considerate towards each other, and displayed a spirit of rivalry in politeness and good feeling. It would have been im-

possible to find a greater degree of harmony subsisting amongst strangers, whose mental qualities, occupations, and social position were so different. At Lafayette's house every body was at his ease, engaged in conversation, and even formed ties of friendship with facility. The very atmosphere breathed a feeling of benevolence on all within its influence. The ladies of the family and those who had been introduced, dressed with taste and propriety, and seated in a circle, formed a sort of garland around these delightful assemblages, of which they were the ornament, and which they animated by their grace and wit. Sometimes, in one of the apartments near the drawing-room, the young folks got up an improviso ball, and danced to the music of the piano. In the midst of these numerous assemblies appeared the venerable head of the family. He was almost always on his legs, appeared insensible to fatigue, multiplied himself, as it were, to receive his visitors with politeness, and had always something kind or affectionate to say to every guest. If the heat was oppressive, the company formed a circle round him to permit him to breathe more freely, to have a better view of him, or to catch the sound of his words more distinctly. If he felt desirous of moving from his place, in order to receive some new visitor, the circle immediately opened, and all were eager to leave the passage free for him. Interest, respect, and admiration, were depicted on every countenance. To enumerate the distinguished persons whom I saw at Lafayette's house would be impossible; they formed the majority of his *soirées*. I met many of your countrymen there, and amongst the number, Mr. Fenimore Cooper, who I

confess was one of those with whom I most desired to be acquainted. The expression of his countenance denotes the superiority of his genius. His piercing look seemed to penetrate every part of Lafayette's *salon*, which must have supplied him with matter for many a valuable remark.

After the revolution of 1830, when he was invested with the command of the national guard of the kingdom, Lafayette received his guests in the spacious apartments of the hotel of the *état major*, where the throng was still more considerable than it had been at his own residence. Dressed in the uniform to which so many glorious recollections are attached, and which he wore with such dignity, he received the numerous deputations from the departments, thanked them gracefully, and conversed with them on the subjects which he knew would prove most interesting to them. His companions in arms he welcomed with a cordiality inspired by his affection for the grand and noble institution which had created them citizen soldiers.

In 1826, under the restoration, Gohier, the last president of the executive directory, once passed the evening at Lafayette's house, where his observant eye remarked a number of persons of equivocal reputation, whom he thought out of their proper place in his friend's society. Having made a remark of that nature to Lafayette.—“What would you have?” replied the latter, “there are people who must not lose sight of me, and who must know all that passes in my home. If I lived in a house of glass, I could let their envoys into my court-yard.”

The company in Lafayette's *salon* frequently occupied themselves with acts of charity or of public utility.

Subscriptions were opened there for the relief of the poor,—improviso lotteries were got up, the object of which was as honourable as the results were advantageous to the unfortunate beings relieved by them. Our celebrated marine painter, M. Gudin, on whose friendship I have long set the highest value, was a lieutenant of artillery in the National Guards, at the period of the late disasters of Poland. Deeply sensible of those generous feelings excited by the misfortunes of an oppressed people, he conceived the idea of employing his talent for the relief of the old allies of France. Having executed a painting representing an African landscape with a cloudy and stormy sky, he sent it to Lafayette with a letter requesting him to dispose of it by a lottery, the amount of which was to be transmitted to the noble sons of Poland. Lafayette joyfully seized the opportunity of doing a good action, and wrote the following letter to the artist:—

“ SIR,

“ I have received your admirable painting and your excellent letter, with every feeling of public and personal gratitude. The former has been displayed to the admiration of the friends who visit me, and its noble destination shall be fulfilled. The proofs of esteem and friendship which you have given me are most valuable to me, and I reply to them with reciprocity of feeling, the assurance of which I beg you to accept.

“ LAFAYETTE.”

“ Paris, March 24th, 1831.” *

* “ C’est avec tous les sentiments de reconnaissance publique et personnelle, monsieur, que j’ai reçu votre beau tableau et votre

Lafayette himself undertook to write the lottery tickets, which he soon disposed of among his friends, and the profits of which exceeded even his hopes. The money was sent to the Polish committee. Chance, as well as I can recollect, favoured Madame de Flahaut, who became the owner of the painting.

M. Gudin had been long acquainted with the General and received in his family. He had been brought up in America, where, with the elements of an excellent education, he had imbibed the inspirations of his talent, and his early feeling of veneration for the character and the virtues of Lafayette. In fact, the affection of the Americans for Lafayette was a general feeling, and an instance to the contrary has never occurred on any of the various occasions on which they have been enabled to prove their regard for him, either as a nation or as individuals. One of our honourable countrymen, who has passed several years in America, M. Delagrangé, formerly a barrister at the court of cassation, acquainted me two months ago with some anecdotes relative to Lafayette. I requested him to transmit to me in writing the facts which he had witnessed, and I feel gratified in communicating to you the letter which he had the kindness to write to me on that subject.

“ SIR,

“ I consider it a duty as well as a pleasure to lay
excellente lettre. Le premier a été exposé à l'admiration des personnes qui viennent chez moi, et sa noble destination sera remplie. Les témoignages d'estime et d'amitié que vous me donnez me sont bien précieux. J'y réponds par une réciprocité de sentiment dont je vous prie d'agréer ici l'expression.

“ Paris, 24 Mars 1831.”

“ LAFAYETTE.”

before you some anecdotes which you have thought worthy to be introduced into your 'Private Life' of our great citizen, General Lafayette: they will afford so many new proofs of the touching gratitude and the almost religious admiration felt for him by the American nation.

" Having sought a refuge in Philadelphia in 1796, I was invited to pass an evening with Colonel Johnston. The ladies formed a circle in the drawing-room, where I was engaged in conversation with the Colonel before the fire-place, when I perceived that the looks of the former were fixed upon me, and that they whispered something to each other. At a loss, as many others would have been in my place, respecting the motive of this general attention, I requested my host to enquire the cause from his wife. He soon returned to tranquilize me, and to assure me that the looks and the conversation of which I was the subject were most flattering to me, as they were occasioned by the resemblance which the ladies had found between their beloved General and myself. 'The impression,' added the Colonel, in joke, 'which this resemblance has produced upon the ladies is such, that were you not already a married man, I can assure you, you would not meet with difficulty in finding a partner here.'

" Some years afterwards, when certain political clouds between France and the United States were dissipated, a question was started with regard to the mutual nomination of ministers plenipotentiary. The brave and patriotic Viscount de Noailles, who, like me, was a refugee at Philadelphia, and whose friendship and confidence I am

proud to have possessed, received information from France that his near connexion, General Lafayette, had been appointed to the legation to the United States. The news, which in a few hours became public, excited universal joy, and every inhabitant of Philadelphia would fain have hastened the arrival of the beloved minister, at least as far as wishes could accomplish that object. In a few days afterwards, a vessel which had the appearance of a frigate was seen coming up the Delaware, and, as she gave and received the salute on passing before Fort Mifflin, no doubt was entertained, precisely because every body desired that his anticipations might prove correct, that she was a French frigate with General Lafayette on board. In ten minutes, the quays were covered with more than twenty thousand citizens, eager to be among the first to welcome the adopted son of America; but you may judge of their disappointment and regret, when, on a nearer approach, the vessel proved to be a large ship returning from India.

“ This deep and sincere affection of the Americans for our illustrious General, was destined to follow him into France. Without speaking of the annual commemoration of the 4th July, on which occasion the best part of the homage was intended for him, I must acquaint you with a particular trait which I shall never forget. Being counsel for the General, I was in conference with him in my study, when a citizen of the United States was announced. My secretary requested him to wait, at the same time informing him that I was engaged with General Lafayette. When we quitted

my study, the American, with tears in his eyes, seized his hands, kissed them with the most ardent demonstrations of respect, and said to him,—‘ The wish of my whole life is accomplished : I have at length the happiness to see my country’s benefactor, one of the founders of our liberties. I was still a child when you fought for our independence, and I recollect my father taking me to the camp to procure me the happiness of seeing you. That slight impression of infancy was not sufficient for me, but that which I now receive will never be effaced from my heart.’ I need scarcely say how much the excellent General was affected by such an interview, or with what cordiality he replied to the homage paid to him by the warm-hearted American.

“ Accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I am,

“ Sir, &c., &c.,

“ J. M. DELAGRANGE.”

LETTER XIII.

PARIS, November 18, 1832.

THE vicious and the selfish, being strangers not only to the softer affections, but also to the severer sufferings of the soul, have for that reason an organization less susceptible of being disturbed by a variety of circumstances, than that of the good and feeling portion of their fellow creatures. With the selfish, a bad heart and a good appetite, constitute the elements of the robust health which they preserve, frequently for the torment of others. We shall find, on the contrary, a fresh proof of the baneful influence of the moral affections on Lafayette's health, in the history of his last illness. The sympathy, the lively regard, which he entertained for those who devote themselves to the public good; the deep affliction which he suffered from their misfortunes, were, in fact, the source of the cruel malady which brought him to the grave. The political duel, which terminated in the death of M. Dulong, deputy for the department of the Eure, and at which, in my capacity of surgeon, I had the misfortune to be present, was a severe blow to Lafayette. As this fatal event is connected with the subject immediately before us, without entering into the details of the circumstances which produced it, and which have been stated in the public journals, I shall merely relate the facts which I myself witnessed, and the recollection of which still

affects me with the most poignant feeling of anguish.

I was ignorant that a hostile meeting was to take place between the two members of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Dulong and General Bugeaud, when, on the 28th of January at ten o'clock at night, one of my friends requested me, as a personal favour, to be present at the duel, which was to be fought with pistols on the following morning, in the Bois de Boulogne. In spite of the repugnance which I invariably feel at witnessing such scenes, more terrible to men of our profession than a public execution can be to the poor ecclesiastic who accompanies a condemned culprit to the foot of the scaffold, I thought proper to accede to my friend's request, hoping that, in case of accident, my services might be useful to the wounded combatant. I confess that I felt extremely unhappy throughout the whole of the night, when I thought of the melancholy meeting which I had promised to attend.

At nine o'clock on the following morning, my friend, Dr. Girou, and myself took our places in a carriage which came to fetch us, and in which we found M. Dulong with his two colleagues, Messrs. George Lafayette and César Bacot, who were to act as his seconds. We proceeded first to M. Dulong's hotel in the Rue de Castiglione to fetch his pistols, and thence we directed our course towards the Bois de Boulogne. I was but slightly acquainted with M. Dulong, for I had seen him only three or four times at Lafayette's house, or at that of M. Dupont, (de l'Eure,) whom I had attended in my medical capacity. On entering the carriage, I felt a painful sensation, when I thought that

the young man seated beside me, whose countenance was interesting, and who was universally well spoken of, was, perhaps, about to fall a victim in the bloom of life to a prejudice and a false point of honour, which all the philosophy of our age has as yet been unable to overcome. I experienced a vague apprehension, and I confess a sort of evil *presentiment* as to the issue of the contest for the unfortunate Dulong. I was seated next to him in a corner of the carriage: he appeared calm, but yet not wholly exempt from anxiety or regret, and the persons by whom he was accompanied seemed still more painfully affected than himself. The conversation turned, as you may suppose, upon the circumstance that had brought us together, and was frequently interrupted by a pause of silence. M. Dulong assured us with much coolness that, to provide against accident, he had put his affairs in order and confided his last wishes to a friend.

We reached the Bois de Boulogne by the gate called Porte Maillot, and proceeded thence towards the *Rond Point du Cèdre*, the place named for the rendezvous. The carriage stopped: it had been followed by another from which alighted General Bugeaud, his two seconds, Messrs. de Rumigni and Lamy, and the surgeon-major of a regiment in garrison at Paris. Eleven o'clock struck: the sky was overcast and sombre, the weather cold, and the north wind, which blew with violence, seemed to have benumbed all the parties. Though the salutations exchanged on both sides were polite, but few words passed, and soon afterwards the antagonists and their seconds struck into a narrow alley to fix upon a suitable spot. After eight or ten minutes' walk, they

followed a little sloping path to the left, which gradually lost itself in the copse. This path was selected as the scene of the engagement.

The opponents entertained no violent hostility against each other ; the seconds seemed by no means disposed to make them fight, and yet, by a singular fatality, no proposal was, to my knowledge, made to bring matters to an accomodation. The combat was not intended to be deadly, and the seconds appeared to hope that the point of honour would be satisfied without accident. It was agreed that the antagonists should be placed at the distance of forty paces from each other ; and the ground having been measured, a cane on one side, and an umbrella on the other, were stuck into the ground on the edge of the path, to mark the space within which they were not allowed to approach. Each was to make use of the arms which he had brought with him, and which were loaded by the seconds. General Bugeaud had the higher ground and M. Dulong the lower ; and, at a given signal, these gentlemen were to advance upon one another and fire as they pleased, but neither was to approach nearer than twenty paces to his opponent.

As soon as the signal was given the combatants raised their weapons and advanced slowly towards each other. M. Dulong had made two steps and General Bugeaud three, when the latter fired. A slight report was heard—we perceived that M. Dulong was hit—and I saw him stagger and fall to the ground. We immediately ran up to him to offer our assistance, but, alas! he was mortally wounded. The brim of his hat was cut by the ball, and his pistol, which was still charged, had fallen from his hand and lay on the ground beside him. From

a large opening on the left side of his forehead issued a stream of blood and portions of the brain: the sight was horrible! His eyes were red, convulsively agitated, and prominent, and seemed starting from their orbits; his face was livid and swelled to an enormous size, and a frothy saliva issued from his mouth: it was, in short, impossible to recognize the once attractive face of Dulong. The wounded man was completely deprived of the use of his faculties, and his throat rattled in a most fearful manner. His limbs underwent a convulsive tension, and his pulse was scarcely perceptible. General Bugeaud approached within a short distance of him, and seemed moved and unhappy at the state to which he saw him reduced.

We staunched the blood and applied the first dressing. With the assistance of the seconds, M. Girou, and the military surgeon of whom I have spoken, and whose zeal was extremely useful to us, I succeeded, after several efforts, in seating M. Dulong in the carriage, which had by this time drawn up. His condition was most desperate, and he had apparently but a few moments to live. With the greatest difficulty we supported him, and the carriage moved on slowly to avoid jolting. The unfortunate man was seized with nausea and repeated convulsions in the arms, and his lower members were almost completely paralyzed. His pulse having recovered some strength on the way, we judged it advisable to bleed him immediately, and for that purpose stopped at a small public-house—the only habitation that lay on our road. The inmates of the house immediately surrounded our carriage, and we could read in the expression of their countenances the horror which

they felt at the spectacle before their eyes. They offered us every thing that the house afforded, and we endeavoured, but in vain, to make the wounded man drink a few drops of water. He was bled copiously, and the blood was received in a salad-bowl.

After the first bleeding a slight improvement was perceptible; the patient made some instinctive movements, raised his right hand to his forehead, and crossed his legs. The carriage then proceeded, and was soon followed and surrounded by Dulong's friends, who came to meet him, and who soon retired in mortal grief and consternation at our replies to their anxious enquiries. We at length reached the wounded man's residence, and found the door besieged by a host of other friends and different individuals who took an interest in him. Having carried him to his chamber, we then put him to bed and bled him again, but he passed an agitated night and did not recover the use of his faculties. An opening which I made in the wound was followed by the evacuation of clots of blood, but produced no material relief. The intensity of all the symptoms, which indicated a profound lesion of the brain, augmented; and at five o'clock on the morning of the 29th, the patient expired. During the whole period of his sufferings, General Lafayette had frequently visited him: M. George Lafayette and Dr. Girou had not quitted him once. A number of our medical brethren had been summoned in consultation, but the wound was too severe to admit of any hope of saving his life.

Twenty-four hours after decease the body was opened, and we perceived that the ball, after breaking the frontal bone, had been divided by it in two: the larger por-

tion had traversed the brain to the occiput, and lodged in the skull with several splinters. The smaller portion of the ball had glided under the integuments and had lodged behind the external orbitary apophysis.

Lafayette was sensibly affected by the loss of his young friend, and guided only by the dictates of his grief and his patriotism, determined to do homage to his memory by following his funeral on foot from the Rue de Castiglione to the cemetery of Père la Chaise. With great difficulty he supported so long a walk of several hours, and on returning home felt himself excessively fatigued and ill, and was attacked with a complete suppression of urine. As I was absent from Paris on that day, (2d February last,) I was unable to see him before the next morning, but two skilful surgeons, who had been called in during the night, had made several fruitless attempts to relieve him. Having had him placed in a bath, I was more successful, and accomplished the desired object, though with difficulty. He supported a painful operation with great courage and resignation, but the affected organ having been struck with paralysis, he was kept in bed and subjected to the usual treatment in such cases. From that period I visited him regularly every day with my medical brethren, Doctors Guersent, Sen., Nicolas, and Girou de Buzareingues.

Some days after his accident, under the influence of the antiphlogistic and derivative treatment which we at first adopted, and afterwards under that of stimulating frictions and sulphureous *douches*, Lafayette felt a sensible improvement in his condition. The symptoms of local irritation had almost wholly disappeared, and the

organ affected had recovered a portion of its power of contraction. The health of the patient daily improved, but he was still tormented by slight fits of flying gout, which successively attacked the joints of the lower limbs, the bronchia, the digestive organs, and the eyelids. In spite of these slight temporary accidents the patient recovered his strength sufficiently to rise, seat himself at his desk, resume a portion of his ordinary occupations, and see his family and some friends;—I say some, for we had limited the number of his visitors, as we had remarked that their visits were frequently followed by a degree of excitement that might have been attended with danger. Lafayette was chagrined by our injunctions, and there was scarcely a day on which he was not inclined to infringe them in favour of some friend whom he longed to embrace. His house was in fact besieged by friends who came to inquire after his health or to solicit permission to see him. He frequently desired me to return his thanks to several of our mutual friends who enquired more particularly after his condition, and especially to my honourable brethren, Professors Ant. Dubois and Desgenettes.

A lady as remarkable for her beauty as for her intelligence and the qualities of her heart, the Princess Christine de Belgiojoso, (whose maiden name was Trivulzi,) attended Lafayette with assiduous care when the state of his health permitted him to receive her. The General had in a manner adopted her amongst the number of his children, and entertained for her that pure attachment which superior mental qualities always inspire in those who can feel and appreciate them. I often found this excellent woman by his bed-side; and her

information, no less solid than varied, and the charms of her conversation, beguiled his fatigues and made him at times forgetful of his sufferings. Lafayette often spoke to me of this lady's rare merit, of her nobleness of character, and of her benevolence towards her unfortunate compatriots.

When he obtained a respite from his sufferings, Lafayette felt a pleasure in relating anecdotes in the course of conversation. Amongst others he told us the two following during his illness. One day, in company with several nobles of the court, he was in presence of Louis XV., who was playing at cards with Madame Dubarry. Upon some unlucky turn of fortune the favourite exclaimed, "Oh, I am fried!"—(Oh, je suis frite!) The King blushed with shame at the exclamation, and appeared excessively mortified during the remainder of the evening. Lafayette was at Madame Dubarry's on the occasion of the last supper of Louis XV.: he witnessed the swooning fit of the King, and the scene of alarm which took place in consequence. On another occasion he was at a masked ball at the opera, the Queen leaning upon his arm. Her Majesty, being desirous of knowing Madame Dubarry, urged Lafayette to offer her his other arm. After a protracted conversation, the Queen asked Madame Dubarry if she knew her. "Extremely well," replied the Countess, "you, Madame, represent the time present, and I, the time past."

We soon afterwards judged it advisable for Lafayette to take the air, in order to recover his strength, and to remove the oppression under which he occasionally laboured, merely through the suspension of the ordinary

functions of nature. We accordingly recommended him to take exercise in an easy close carriage. He found himself much benefited by following our advice; his appetite improved, his strength increased, he recovered his gaiety, and the affected organ resumed some degree of energy. Every morning he took a drive to Beau-séjour, a country house close by, at the entrance of the Bois de Boulogne. He passed the greater part of the day there with his granddaughter, Madame Adolphe Perrier, who had retired there with her family, to take care of one of her children, whom she had subsequently the misfortune to lose soon after the death of her grandfather.

Whilst compelled to keep his bed or his chamber, Lafayette read the journals and new pamphlets, or had them read to him, wrote or dictated letters, and in his conversations was much more occupied with the general interests of France, or with those of his friends, than with his own. Frequently too he spoke to us of America, which he regarded as a second country—the country of his affections. For the sons of that classic land of liberty, he entertained a lively and well-merited attachment; and he was painfully affected when he learned through the journals the discussions that had taken place between President Jackson and the American Senate. He trusted, however, that justice would smooth all difficulties, and that the Americans, in whose good sense he had entire confidence, would, in the end, come to a good understanding, and continue to live in perfect harmony. “The Americans,” said he to me one day, “are aware of my situation: they know that I have need of repose, and they will not trouble mine.”

On a subsequent occasion, when he felt himself enfeebled, he was ordered to take a few spoonfuls of Madeira wine. "Above all," said he to Bastien, "give me that from Lagrange; it will do me most good." That Madeira had been sent to him by your countrymen.

Lafayette was excessively grieved when informed of the death of Madame Joubert, and he lavished the most affecting condolences on her husband, whom he sincerely loved. He often spoke to us of the talents and good qualities of that interesting mother of a family. "Poor woman," exclaimed he to me one morning, "it was she who made that handsome sketch of Lagrange! What a loss to her husband, her children, and myself!" He had then no presentiment that he was soon to follow her to the tomb! The sketch referred to has been noticed in my description of his bed-chamber.

Lafayette's state of health had now become much more satisfactory, and we had every reason to believe that he might recover completely, or at all events continue to live, with a very supportable degree of inconvenience. Our hopes, however, were soon destroyed by an unforeseen accident. On the 9th of May the sky, which in the morning had been clear and serene, was in a few hours afterwards covered with thick clouds. The wind became high, the temperature of the air suddenly lowered, a thunder-storm came on, and the rain fell in torrents. Lafayette, who had gone out to make his habitual excursion to Beauséjour, had not taken sufficient precaution to secure himself against the sudden change in the atmosphere; he was exposed for

some minutes to a cold north-west wind, and was moreover wetted by the rain. On his return he was ill and oppressed, and felt acute pain in his limbs. During my visit on the following morning, he was seized with a general shivering, which in half an hour after was followed by a violent feverish re-action. From that period the fits were renewed in irregular and quick succession; besides which, the patient's situation was aggravated by coma, and other nervous symptoms. For some days a painful swelling manifested itself near the organ originally affected, and notwithstanding the employment of an active system of treatment, which was punctually followed, the general symptoms augmented in intensity and duration. Lafayette submitted to every thing that we judged proper for him in his situation. From time to time he demanded explanations, but never made reflections on any of our decisions. Even in his moments of suffering, a smile dwelt upon his lips and his face, which was in perfect harmony with his words, expressing the utmost resignation and gratitude for the attentions paid to him. He betrayed no symptom of impatience or ill-humour, as is generally observable in patients affected as he was. Bastien, who was overcome with fatigue, sometimes fell asleep during the day, in an arm-chair, and Lafayette, though unable to dispense with his services, never allowed him to be awakened. When another nurse was added, as an assistant to his faithful valet-de-chambre, he was evidently distressed at receiving the attentions of a stranger. One day, when the latter had just given him some drink, I heard him gently recommend Bastien to do every thing himself when not asleep.

One morning, on my arrival, Lafayette regarded me with a smile, and giving me his hand, exclaimed, "The Swiss Gazette has just killed me, and yet you knew nothing of the matter! Nay, more;—that I might die in due form, the celebrated Doctor * * *, whom I hardly know, has been consulted." He then handed me the paper which contained the false statement, adding, "After that, believe the public journals if you can!"

During his malady, Lafayette was very fond of a small white bitch, which he had received, I believe, from Madame de Bourck, and which never quitted him. The animal, which was gifted with a remarkable degree of instinct, permitted nobody, except Bastien, to approach her master's clothes when he was in bed, expressed joy or sorrow according as he felt better or worse, and might have served as a thermometer to indicate the state of his health. Since the General's death, she has followed Bastien to Lagrange, but has never resumed her gaiety.

When we acquainted Lafayette with our intention of consulting some of our medical brethren, he replied to us,—“To what purpose? Have I not entire confidence in you, and can any addition be made to the care which you take of me, and to the interest which you feel in my welfare?” “We think”, observed M. Guersent, “that we have done what is best in your case; but were there only a single remedy that might escape us, it is our duty to seek it. We wish to restore you as soon as possible to health, for we are responsible for your situation towards your family, your friends, and the French nation, of whom you are the father.” “Yes,

their father," replied the General, with a smile, "on condition that they never follow a syllable of my advice."

We frequently summoned to a consultation our honourable brethren, Professors Fouquier, Marjolin, and Andral. There was no difference of opinion on the nature and seriousness of the affection, the imminence of the danger, or the remedies that remained to be tried to counteract the progressive increase of the symptoms. Those remedies were put in practice, but they served merely to prolong the existence of the patient for a few days. At the period of our first consultation, Lafayette gave a hearty welcome to Professor Andral, and enquired with much interest after his father-in-law, M. Royer Collard, for whom he felt a sincere esteem.

Four or five days previously to his death, Lafayette felt oppressed, and became melancholy. He observed to his son that he was acquainted with his situation, and that he desired to have some conversation with him in private. This feeling, however, was of short duration: he soon regained his serenity, and the hope of recovery again lighted up the expression of his countenance. Towards this period of his malady, he observed to me, "Quinine and the fever, my dear Doctor, are battling together: give me plenty of quinine, that it may gain the upper hand." The next morning he repeated the same idea: "I fear", added he, "that the quinine is in the wrong, and that I shall be obliged to pay the costs of the suit." "What would you have?" said he to me a few moments afterwards; "life is like the flame of a lamp: when the oil is out the light is extinguished, and all is over." On the last day but

one before his death, when the visits of strangers were forbidden, Lafayette said to his grandson, M. Jules de Lasteyrie, "You will tell the good Princess de Belgiojoso how grateful I feel for her visits, and how much I suffer at being deprived of them." Since the General's death, the princess has continued her intimacy with the family of her illustrious friend, and has never ceased to mingle her mournful recollections with theirs.

The excellent Dr. Girou never quitted Lafayette during the rest of his illness: I also had remained with him for the last two days, to observe more closely the effects of the medical treatment, and to dispute to the last with death for a life so valuable! On the 20th of May, about one o'clock in the morning, the seriousness of the symptoms increased. Respiration, which for the last eight and forty hours had been much impeded, became still more difficult, and the danger of suffocation was more imminent. Drowsiness, delirium, and prostration of strength, became more decidedly pronounced, and at twenty minutes past four o'clock in the morning Lafayette expired in our arms!

A few moments before he breathed his last, Lafayette opened his eyes, and fixed them with a look of affection on his children, who surrounded his bed, as if to bless them and bid them an eternal adieu. He pressed my hand convulsively, experienced a slight degree of contraction in the forehead and eye-brows, and drew in a deep and lengthened breath, which was immediately followed by a last sigh. His pulse, which had not lost its force, suddenly ceased to beat. A murmuring noise was still heard about the region of the heart. To produce re-animation we employed stimulating frictions,

but in vain:—the General had ceased to exist. His countenance resumed a calm expression,—that of peaceful slumber. His end was that of a good man, who abandons the world without fear or remorse,—that of the wise man mentioned by Lafontaine :

Approche-t-il du but ? quitte-t-il ce séjour ?

Rien ne trouble sa fin ; c'est le soir d'un beau jour.

On the painful occasion which I have just described, M. George Lafayette, the worthy and modest heir of his father's virtues, presented us with an admirable example of filial piety. He entertained for his parent that religious respect which is usually granted only to the memory of beloved individuals. He knew by experience his high qualities, his domestic virtues, and proved his affection for him by unbounded devotion to his slightest wishes. But if he was justly proud of the author of his days, the General on his side felt the value of such a son, and reaped the reward of the care which he had taken of his education, and of the advice and example which he had given to him.

M. George Lafayette had long attached himself as it were to his father's steps, had followed him in his travels, and had been witness to his triumph at the period of his last visit to the United States. How heartfelt must have been his gratification, at seeing that great nation confer on his parent such striking and unanimous marks of gratitude;—at seeing the American people mingle their prayers with his for the happiness and the preservation of the friend of Washington and Franklin ! M. George Lafayette, the worthy pupil of Washington, was gifted with a mild but at the same time a firm and

frank disposition. He bore with courage the apprehensions by which he was assailed during his father's illness, concealed from him his anguish, and like a consoling genius never once quitted his bedside. It was thus that he discharged the duties of filial love,—those sacred duties, a feeling of which has been deeply implanted by nature in every virtuous heart, and the performance of which presents an affecting example at the present day, when respect for old age, love of parents, and the ties of blood, have so great a tendency to be weakened; when a selfish spirit of unlimited and mistaken independence hardens the heart, and tends to produce errors no less fatal than those which were caused by abuse of authority in days of ignorance and degradation. Lafayette, as we have seen, was himself a perfect model of those honourable sentiments which at once exalt and ennoble the human heart, and which can be turned into ridicule only by such as are unable or unworthy to feel them.

As soon as I perceived the imminent danger of Lafayette, I gave warning to his son, and at three o'clock in the morning his whole family and some of his most intimate friends had assembled in his chamber. The looks of all, the paleness of their countenances, the expression of their features, bore evident marks of that cruel anxiety which is felt better than described when we are on the eve of some great calamity. All observed a mournful silence, interrupted only at times by sighs and by the questions which they put to us in a low tone of voice on the state of the patient. The venerable rector of the church of the Assumption came to join in prayer with the family.

As daylight began to dawn upon the scene of suffering, all of us seemed aroused from one of those painful dreams the horror of which predominates even at the moment of our awaking, and forces us to doubt if we are not still asleep. But who can depict the heart-rending scene which we witnessed when the fatal moment arrived? From every side burst forth the sobs of the bystanders, which had hitherto been checked by their religious respect and by their fear of disturbing the last moments of Lafayette. Piercing and stifled shrieks strongly expressed the grief to which every heart was a prey. George Lafayette, his eyes motionless and bathed in tears, remained for some time in a state of stupor, from which he recovered only to address to his father his adieux, that were scarcely audible through the sobs torn from him by despair. His wife endeavoured to sustain and aid him to support the blow which had smitten him, but, insensible to every other feeling than that of poignant anguish, he heeded not the consolations lavished on him by her tenderness. How noble was his grief! How deeply he felt his loss! And oh! how fervently had he prayed that his father's parting breath might still be spared, or that his spirit, as it hovered on the verge of eternity, might be joined by his own! The rest of the General's children, not less deeply affected, knelt around his bed, kissed his hands, bathed them with their tears, and clasped each other in a convulsive embrace, as if, in presence of Lafayette's inanimate remains, to draw still closer together the ties that bound them to each other. They forgot in their despair that when giving them his last blessing the hero of two worlds placed his crown of glory on

their brows, and was through them to revive for posterity.

It would have been impossible on this sad occasion for Lafayette's friends not to have felt anguish equal to that of the family in whose grief they shared. As for Bastien, who never once quitted his master, he too bore his full share in the scene of desolation: he remained constantly at the foot of the bed, large tears chased each other down his cheeks, and his despair was not the less expressive for its silence. The first moments of delirious grief were soon succeeded by gloom and stillness. The faculties of all present were overwhelmed, and their forces exhausted.

In order to perpetuate the features of the illustrious deceased, M. David, Member of the Institute, took a cast of them in plaster. M. Scheffer also executed a full length portrait of the General, which is considered a faultless resemblance. The calm and gentle expression which Lafayette's features preserved after death, is represented in this painting with a painfully affecting degree of truth. Madame de Maubourg, Lafayette's eldest daughter, was the first who felt desirous of preserving a likeness of her father's features. Her grief seemed for a moment to have strengthened her feeble and delicate constitution. Motionless, and on her knees before the bed of death, she sketched the features of the general, with a hand guided by an unspeakable sentiment of filial piety and love. Filled with the remembrance of the painful scene which I had witnessed, I also took a slight sketch of it. My friend Gudin availed himself of my performance to execute the drawing which I now send you—the last homage

paid by him to the memory of one whose friendship he cherished, and whose virtues he admired. The drawing, executed with equal truth and feeling, presents a faithful image of the mournful scene which we witnessed.



Those who had assembled in Lafayette's house, from friendship or admiration for him, were admitted to visit him on his bed of repose, to see him once more, and to bid him a last adieu! The involuntary tears which escaped from their eyes, attested the painful sentiments with which they availed themselves of the permission. Bastien was seized with the idea of doing honour to his master's memory, by burning around his remains the wax candles of Lord Cornwallis, of which I have already spoken.

No sooner had Lafayette's death been made public, than the same expressions of grief were everywhere

manifested. We witnessed the regret occasioned by his loss even amongst many whose political principles had been most opposed to those of the deceased. The announcement of his death by the journals of the capital, served as a public invitation to his funeral. His relations, his friends, in a word, all who could appreciate his virtues, were indeed too numerous to be invited individually. All the distinguished residents in Paris, including the members of both legislative chambers, the academies, the civil and military administrations, the national guard, refugees, foreigners, &c., assembled together to attend his interment. The working classes, who by his death had lost an enlightened and powerful protector,—the poor, who had been deprived of a benefactor that could pity and relieve their sufferings, were present in great numbers. The order of the funeral procession having been published in the journals of the day, I shall abstain from entering into details on that subject. The corners of the pall were borne by Messrs. Jacques, Laffitte, Salverte, and Odilon Barrot, for the Chamber of Deputies; M. Eugene Laffitte, for the National Guard; General Fabvier, for the army; Mr. Barton, Secretary of Legation, in the absence of his father-in-law, Mr. Livingston, for the United States of America; General Ostrowski, for Poland; and an Elector of Meaux, for the electoral colleges. Tricoloured standards, piled together, adorned each corner of the bier, which was immediately followed by Bastien, bearing on a black velvet cushion the sword and the epaulettes which had been worn by Lafayette as Commandant of the National Guards. The body was accompanied by an immense crowd from the

Rue d'Anjou as far as the church of the Assumption. The National Guards, in full dress, and with mourning scarfs on their arms, formed, with the regular troops, a double line on each side of the cortège. The church porch was already filled with these old soldiers of Lafayette, who, on the arrival of the bier, rushed towards the coffin, and disputed with each other the honour of carrying it into the sanctuary. Every man wished to approach the mortal remains of the General, and to touch at least his shroud as a last testimony of respect and regret.

The church was hung simply, and without any particular distinction. The bystanders took their places quietly round the body, and the service for the dead was performed without pomp, but with the deepest devotion. On the occasion of this sad solemnity all ranks of society were confounded together; all were animated by the same feelings, and oppressed by the same grief. The catafalque was rich without ostentation, and surrounded merely with trophies of tricoloured flags. At each of the four corners burned a funeral lamp, the blue flickering flames contrasting with the light that descended obliquely from the large glass windows on the scene, which was at once religious, imposing, and worthy the pencil of a great master. Four years ago I was in the same church, where Lafayette then witnessed the celebration of the marriage of one of his grand-daughters with the son of his old companion in misfortune, M. Bureaux de Pusy. How different was the character of the two ceremonies! How painful the contrast presented to the imagination by each!

Tears and sorrow now replaced the tranquil joy of those who witnessed the former scene, and offered up their prayers to heaven for the happiness of the young couple !

When the service was finished, the procession resumed its march, crossing the greater part of the city, by the interior boulevards, to the cemetery of Picpus, where the General had expressed a wish to be buried, near his wife. The crowd which joined the procession on its passage was still more numerous than that which had followed it to the church. Everywhere the same feeling of devotion was displayed, the same expression of regret was heard. The mourning was public, and many of the bystanders shed tears in abundance. Every head was uncovered, though the sun was then in his greatest power. The illustrious author of "The Genius of Christianity", M. de Châteaubriand, who had ever respected the noble character of Lafayette, was desirous of doing honour to his inanimate remains, and of paying a last tribute of honour to his memory. He accordingly took his station on the Boulevard St. Martin, the spot where in 1790 he had for the first time seen the General at the head of his brilliant staff. The procession having reached the gates of the cemetery, one portion of the crowd rushed into the enclosure, the other remaining quietly outside. The coffin was carried slowly across the garden and through a long alley of lime trees before it reached the grave, where it was placed beside that of Madame de Lafayette. No speeches were pronounced over the General's tomb, the tears and lamentations of those by whom it was sur-

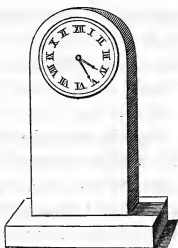
rounded bore sufficient testimony to his virtues, and to the regret which he left behind him. What funeral oration could have been so eloquent! What eulogium could have affected us so deeply! After the usual prayers the earth sent by your countrymen from America was mingled with that of France, to encircle and protect all that was left of Lafayette; several discharges of musketry were fired to pay him the honours due to his military rank, and the crowd at length retired, casting a last sad look upon the earth which covered his remains. They had witnessed one of those painful scenes which deeply affect the heart of man and lead him instinctively to look inwardly upon himself. Whilst the throng withdrew in mournful silence, the members of the family and a few friends who had been unable to quit them stopped at the bottom of the garden.

During the ceremony, proofs were every moment afforded of the impression produced on the minds of the public by the death of Lafayette. "He was so benevolent a man," said a young woman to the persons by whom she was surrounded, "that we should have no poor people in Paris, if all who now follow him had done as much good as himself." "Now that he is dead," cried an old man, leaning upon his stick with a melancholy air, "he will no doubt be regretted: we never know the value of our friends till we have lost them for ever!" One individual, who seemed a stranger in Paris, observed to a labouring man that the deceased must have been extremely rich, to have so many people at his funeral. "No," replied the poor man, "but he gave us every thing; the French are not ungrateful, and

they are here to thank him." Another individual, whose clothes, though clean, were almost worn out, and testified indigence caused by reverse of fortune rather than by misconduct, wished to place himself immediately behind the bier, and endeavoured to make his way through the National Guards who formed the line. "You see that none but the family are admitted there," said one of the guards, obstructing his passage. "We all belong to his family," replied the poor man, "for he loved us all as his children." This simple expression of feeling opened the ranks immediately; the intruder was allowed to pass without difficulty, and to place himself immediately behind the bier, which he followed to the cemetery.

In the afternoon I visited Lafayette's children, who had retired within an isolated apartment, where they received me with that expansive friendship which is displayed under severe calamities when we receive the consolations of those by whom they are shared—a proof of the irresistible necessity which we feel on such occasions to attach ourselves to all that may place our mournful recollections strongly before our minds. You may form an opinion of the high value which I set upon these marks of friendship from Lafayette's children: they soothe the sorrow that I feel for the loss of one who gave me so many proofs of affection, and to whom I was attached by the sincerest gratitude. On the 18th June last, I received a touching mark of friendship from M. George Lafayette, who, in the name of his family, sent me the neat pendule which had formed one of the ornaments of his late father's study, and

of which I here present you with a sketch. The letter which accompanied the present bears the impress of M. George Lafayette's affectionate disposition. Although it contains many expressions much too flattering to myself, I transcribe it, under the idea that the perusal will afford you pleasure.



“ PARIS, 18th June, 1834.

“ MY DEAR DOCTOR,

“ Previously to the long and cruel malady which preceded our misfortune, I was already aware that you were our friend, and you had given us too many proofs of your valuable affection to permit us to think otherwise. But since that period you have taken care of my father as if he had been your own: he breathed his last in your arms, and you supported the terrible shock with us, to spare us the sorrow of thinking that every thing possible had not been done. We love you, my dear doctor, and shall love you for the remainder of our lives. He whose loss we lament loved you too, and we have thought it our duty to offer you a slight token in his name. When you see this little memento, you will guess the motive which has induced us to select it as a present for you. My father set a high value on it as having belonged to a beloved uncle, and ever since the death of the respectable M. de Tessé, the modest *pendule* of his study formed one of the ornaments of my late parent's. In the

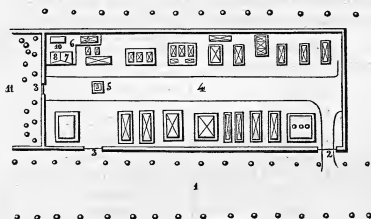
name of my entire family, I beg that you will accept it as a pledge of our eternal gratitude. Receive the expression of my unalterable affection for you.

“GEORGE W. LAFAYETTE.”

Shortly after the death of Lafayette, my friend, M. Pradier, executed for me a little statue of our illustrious fellow-citizen. The drawing which I send you, and which I have placed at the head of this volume, was executed from that statue by M. Letellier : I find it a remarkably good likeness : as an inscription explaining Lafayette's character, I might have placed beneath it the following perfectly just reflections of Madame de Staël : “ In the prisons of Olmütz, as well as in the zenith of his fame, he was equally firm in his attachment to the same principles. His manner of seeing and acting is perfectly straightforward, and whoever has observed him may know beforehand and with certainty, what his conduct will be on every occasion. It is a singular phenomenon that a character like that of Lafayette should have been developed among the higher ranks of French noblesse.”

Under the impression that you may feel an interest in the spot where Lafayette is buried, I send you a sketch of it taken from nature. The private cemetery where the remains of Lafayette are deposited, is in the Rue de Picpus, No. 15, at the extremity of the Faubourg Saint Antoine. The entrance is through a spacious court, the buildings of which are occupied by a religious community, and at the bottom of which is a modest-looking chapel. A large garden, covered with fruit-trees,

shrubs, and plants is next crossed, and a long alley of lime-trees, bordered with a hedge of yoke-elm trees, then leads to the enclosure reserved for the cemetery. The latter is surrounded with walls, and represents an oblong square, into which there are three entrances by as many gates. It contains but two rows of mausoleums, belonging to distinguished families: those of de Noailles, de Grammont, de Montaigu, Destillièrre, Freteau, Gouy-d'Arsy, Rosambo, Lamoignon, de Perigord, &c. The two rows of tombs are separated by a gravel path, at the extremity of which is a stone cross. At the south-east angle of the ground is the place reserved for Lafayette and his family.



PLAN OF THE CEMETERY.

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| <p>1. The great alley of lime-trees.</p> <p>2. The entrance gate.</p> <p>3. 3. The two other gates of the cemetery.</p> <p>4. The small alley which separates the two rows of tombs.</p> <p>5. The cross.</p> <p>6. The ground reserved for Lafayette's family.</p> | <p>7. 8. The tomb of Lafayette and his wife.</p> <p>9. The tomb of M. de Lasteyrie.</p> <p>10. The tomb of M. de Grammont's son.</p> <p>11. An enclosure in which are interred several victims of the revolutionary tribunal.</p> |
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The tomb of Lafayette, which is surrounded with an iron railing, is but little higher than the ground, and is composed of two large black marble tablets, slightly inclined, and forming a very oblique angle. Upon this angle is a little cross, the lateral branches of which extend on both sides of the monument that covers the remains of both husband and wife as with a roof.

The following is the arrangement of the tablets, with the inscriptions on them in letters of gold.

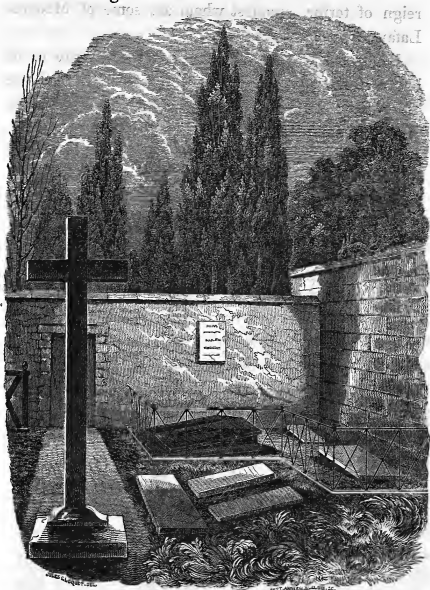
<p>M. A. F.*</p> <p>DE NOAILLES,</p> <p>Née à Paris le xi Novembre</p> <p>MDCCCLIX.</p> <p>Mariée le xi Avril MDCCCLXXIV,</p> <p>A</p> <p>M. J. P. R. Y. G. P.</p> <p>LAFAYETTE.</p> <p>—</p> <p>Décédée à Paris le xxiv Décembre</p> <p>MDCCCVII.</p> <p>—</p> <p><i>Requiescat in pace.</i></p>	<p>†</p> <p>M. J. P. R. Y. G. D †.</p> <p>LAFAYETTE.</p> <p>—</p> <p>Lieutenant - Général, Membre de la</p> <p>Chambre des Députés, né à Cha-</p> <p>vaniac, Haute-Loire, le vi Septem-</p> <p>bre MDCCCLVII, marié le xi Avril</p> <p>MDCCCLXXIV,</p> <p>A</p> <p>M. A. F.</p> <p>DE NOAILLES.</p> <p>—</p> <p>Décédé à Paris, le xx Mai</p> <p>MDCCCXXXIV.</p> <p>—</p> <p><i>Requiescat in pace.</i></p>
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The ground reserved for Lafayette's family also contains the tomb of Colonel Lasteyrie, the General's son-in-law, and that of M. de Grammont's sons. A slab of white marble, placed on the wall at the bottom, bears an in-

* Marie-Adrienne-Françoise.

† Marie-Jean-Paul-Roch-Yves-Gilbert de Motier Lafayette.

scription relative to the death of one of Lafayette's grandchildren, Madame de Peron, whose maiden name was Maubourg.



TOMB OF LAFAYETTE.

Behind the wall next to Lafayette's tomb, are cypresses and some poplars. One of the latter, the emblem of death, seems to abandon its withered branches

to the wind; thus adding to the melancholy aspect of this field of rest. The soil on which these trees stand covers the remains of a number of victims of the reign of terror, amongst whom are some of Madame Lafayette's nearest relatives.

Madame Lafayette having expressed a desire to be buried in this spot, her wishes were respected, and the observance of them ultimately decided the burial place of her husband.

The tomb of Lafayette, unostentatious, like those of his friends Washington and Franklin, is daily visited by many who honour his memory, by strangers who have known him, and by those who regret that they were deprived of that happiness. A register which is deposited with the porter of the cemetery, is filled with the names of the visitors.

LETTER XIV.

PARIS, July 1st, 1835.

To complete my recollections on the subject of Lafayette, nothing more remains than to speak of the homage just paid to his memory by the National Guards of Paris.

The enthusiasm excited by the noble conduct of Lafayette amongst those who witnessed the grand scenes at the Hotel de Ville in 1830, inspired them with the idea of perpetuating the recollection of that epoch, by consecrating to him a monument worthy of his glory and of the citizens by whom it was to be erected. A subscription was shortly afterwards opened, to ensure the means of realizing this noble idea: the example was set by the National Guards of Paris, and soon followed by those of the departments. It was decided that a monumental vase and a sword should be presented to Lafayette, in the name of the national militia of the kingdom. A central committee was named in Paris, to organize the subscription, and to see that the execution of the vase and sword answered the wishes and the expectations of the subscribers. The commissioners, who were chosen amongst the most distinguished of the Parisian National Guards, and who were all deputies and enlightened friends of the fine arts, elected as their treasurer M. Jacques Laffitte, at that time president of the council of ministers. The committee thus consti-

tuted chose, for the execution of the vase and the gold sword which was to accompany it, one of our most celebrated goldsmiths, M. Fauconnier. The subscription was opened in Paris in the month of October, 1830, and announced in the *Moniteur* of the 19th November in the same year. In January, 1831, the models of the vase were presented by the artist and accepted by the commissioners, who forwarded the following circular to the commandants of the different corps of the National Guards of the Departments :

“ Paris, 15th January, 1831.

“ COMMANDANT,

“ The *Moniteur* of the 19th November last has announced to the National Guards of the kingdom, that a subscription has been opened, in order to present to General Lafayette a grand monumental vase of silver gilt, and a sword. A committee has been appointed to organize the subscription, and to see that the execution of the design answers to the expectations of the subscribers. M. Laffitte, President of the Council, has kindly undertaken to discharge the office of treasurer. The preparing of the models and designs, which has been confided to a distinguished artist, M. Fauconnier, has been the sole cause that has hitherto prevented the subscription from receiving the greatest publicity. Animated with the same sentiments as the National Guards of Paris, those of your department will join in this really national offering. We therefore lose no time in transmitting to you the form of the lists, on which will be notified the voluntary donations of the subscribers. Every contribution, how slight soever it may

be, will be received with equal pleasure; for those in the humblest circumstances ought not to be deprived of the privilege of rendering to the glory and the services of the illustrious General the homage of deep and eternal gratitude.

“ We trust, Sir, that you will have the kindness to forward the annexed lists to all the companies of your department, and to address the funds to the President of the Council of Ministers.

“ Accept, Sir, the assurance of the high consideration and devotion with which we have the honour to be

“ Your most humble

“ and most obedient servants,

“ ALEX. DELABORDE,	THE MARQUIS DE MARMIER,	DE SCHONEN,
Deputy Adjutant-	Colonel of the	Colonel of the
Major-General.	1st Legion.	9th Legion.”

The monument being a homage offered by all the National Guards of France to their oldest and first General, it was principally among the citizen soldiers that the voluntary offerings were collected. Nevertheless, a number of individuals unconnected with our civic institutions, eagerly joined in the patriotic work. The vase was designed by M. Fauconnier, who in the execution was aided by the most distinguished artists of the capital, and, amongst the number, Messrs. Garnaud, Bovy, and Chaponnière. This monumental vase, which belongs to the superior description of goldsmith's work, is, in style of art, a *tour de force* and a *chef d'œuvre*. Though the material execution of it was commenced in 1831, it was finished only in 1835, the labours of the

artist having been suspended and protracted to that advanced period by a variety of unprecedented embarrassments.

DESCRIPTION OF THE VASE.

The vase, which is of silver gilt, and the stand, in the form of a votive altar and of the same metal, are about four feet high. The handles are formed of two strong vine-stalks, attached at one end to the edges of the neck, and supported at the other by two lions' heads. The neck is enriched with a civic crown, and the bottom of the vase is ornamented with leaves of aquatic plants, separated by stems of the sugar-cane and the coffee-tree. On one of the sides of the vase, the genius of the fine arts and the genius of industry, surrounded with their attributes, support a drapery, on which may be read,

FRANCE

TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

On the other side, surrounded with a glory, is the date 1830. The pedestal is square with splayed off corners, and is decorated with four statues and four bas-reliefs, which may be regarded as so many chefs-d'œuvre of taste and historical illustration. The statues, which represent Liberty, Equality, Force, and Wisdom, are placed upright on a projecting ledge prepared to receive them.

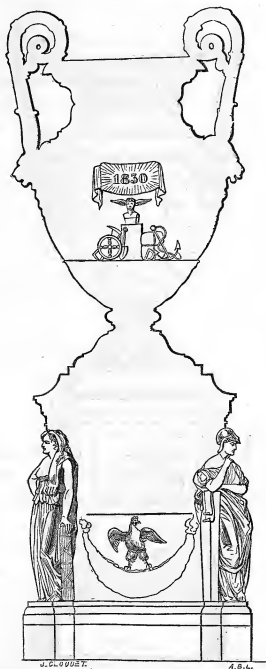
1st. LIBERTY is represented under the form of a young female in full drapery, and with a Phrygian cap on her head. In one hand she holds the national flag,

and in the other the sword to defend it, whilst she tramples under foot a set of broken chains.



2d. EQUALITY. In her right hand the goddess holds the levelling plane, but leans with her left on the table

of the laws ; thus presenting the symbol of constitutional equality.



3d. FORCE is represented by a female in the prime of life. Her head is covered and she is partly clothed

with a lion's skin, which falls on her back and her left shoulder. She leans on a bundle of rods, to indicate that her strength depends on union.

4th. WISDOM. This virtue is represented under the form of a young female of severe aspect; her drapery is tasteful, and her head is covered with the helmet of Minerva. Her calm and grave attitude indicates reflection.

The four sides of the altar are ornamented with as many bas-reliefs, well chosen, and representing the following events connected with the life of Lafayette.

1st. The capitulation of Lord Cornwallis.

2d. The federation of 1790.

3d. The reception of the Duke of Orleans, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, at the Hotel de Ville, July 31st, 1830.

4th. The distribution of the standards to the National Guards in the Champ de Mars, August 29th, 1830.

As these bas-reliefs deserve some attention, I shall devote a few words to each of them in particular, and with the greater pleasure as they are no less remarkable for their composition than for their execution.



FIRST BAS-RELIEF.

Lafayette, with the generals and the respective staffs of the French and American army, after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at York Town.

With regard to the subject of this bas-relief, I cannot do better than quote from the narrative of an old soldier of the American army, who was met by M. Levasseur in the neighbourhood of York Town, in 1824. The meeting and the acquaintance between the French traveller and the American soldier took place at the foot of a pyramid, on which were inscribed, in large characters, the names of *Rochambeau*, *Viomesnil*, *Lauzun*, *Saint-Simon*, *Dumas*, and in short of all the principal officers of the French troops who had fought and con-

quered at York Town. After acquainting M. Levasseur with the particulars of the retreat of Lord Cornwallis towards York Town, where he intrenched himself, the old republican soldier continued in the following terms :

“Messrs. Duportail and Querenet conducted the siege at the head of the engineers, M. d’Aboville commanded the French artillery, and General Knox the American artillery. Notwithstanding the enemy’s fire, the trenches proceeded rapidly, and from the 9th of October three batteries were already brought to play on the place. General Washington himself fired the first piece, and at this signal the Americans commenced a brisk cannonade, which the English returned with great vigour. The engagement lasted all night, and the scene of action was lighted up only by the burning of a small English squadron, which had been set on fire by red-hot balls, discharged from a French battery.

“On the 14th the English were masters of no other external works than two large redoubts, which Washington was determined to take. Having destroyed with cannon-shot the mounds which defended the approaches, and the enemy’s fire beginning to slacken, he judged the moment favourable for storming the redoubts. Lafayette, at the head of the American light infantry, was ordered to attack the redoubt on the left of the besieged troops, and Viomesnil, at the head of the French grenadiers, that on their right. Lafayette correctly thought that nothing but the boldness and rapidity of the attack could enable young soldiers to carry intrenchments defended by disciplined troops. Having therefore ordered the whole of his division to fire, he formed his men in column, headed them himself, charged sword in hand

through the mounds, and notwithstanding the enemy's fire, penetrated into the redoubt, which he carried in a few minutes, and with the loss of only a handful of men. He immediately sent his aide-de-camp, Barber, to Viomesnil, to inform him that he was master of the redoubt, and to learn the position of his brother general. The aide-de-camp found General Viomesnil at the head of his column of grenadiers, waiting patiently, under a terrible fire from the enemy, till his sappers had methodically cut him a passage through the mounds. 'Tell Lafayette,' said Viomesnil, 'that I am not yet master of my redoubt, but that I shall be so in five minutes.' In fact, within the time mentioned, his troops entered the English intrenchments, drums beating, and in as good order as though they had been at a parade.

"The siege still continued, but after making an ineffectual sortie to conceal the retreat which he wished to effect during the night, Lord Cornwallis saw plainly that he had no longer any hope, and on the 17th of October he demanded a parley. The capitulation stipulated that Lord Cornwallis and his army should be treated as prisoners of war; that the troops should file past, with shouldered arms and covered standards, the drums beating an English or German march, and that they should lay down their arms in presence of the allied forces. When the English quitted the town, the Americans and the French were ranged in two lines, the first on the right, the second on the left of the road. At the extremity of the lines were all the general officers. When the head of the English column appeared, every eye sought Lord Cornwallis, but he was detained

by indisposition, and was represented by General O'Hara: the latter, either through mistake or intentionally, presented his sword to General Rochambeau*, who pointed with his hand to General Washington, and said that 'as the French were merely auxiliaries, he, O'Hara, was to receive orders from the American general.' O'Hara seemed piqued, and advanced towards Washington, who received him with the noblest generosity."

The author of the bas-relief has chosen for his representation, the moment when General O'Hara, hat in hand, delivers his sword to Washington, in presence of Generals Rochambeau and Lafayette, and the staff of the allied armies. The American troops, and the French grenadiers, are grouped behind the staff, their flags unfurled and floating in the wind. The expression of shame and despair may be remarked in the attitude and in the countenances of the officers who follow General O'Hara. In the foreground of the picture is seen an American officer, raising and supporting a wounded man, who seems to forget his sufferings in the triumph of his country. Pieces of artillery, mounted or broken, and overthrown, are also remarked, and in the back ground is perceived the city of York town.

* Other historians assert that it was to Lafayette, who wore the American uniform, that O'Hara by mistake at first wished to deliver his sword.



SECOND BAS-RELIEF.

Lafayette taking the Civic Oath to the French Federation. July 14th, 1790.

To recall to your recollection in few words, the subject of this bas-relief, I cannot do better than quote the following passage from a modern historian*.

“The vast space of the Champ de Mars was surrounded by seats of turf, raised over one another, and occupied by 400,000 spectators. In the middle was raised an altar, after the antique fashion, and on a spacious amphitheatre around it, were seen the king, his

* Mignet's History of the French Revolution, Vol. I. p. 69.

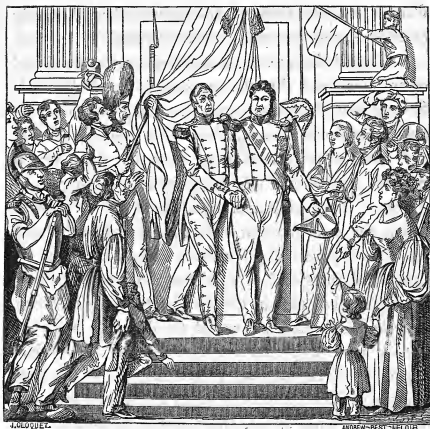
family, the assembly, and the municipality. The federates of the departments were placed in order under their banners: the deputies of the army and of the National Guards were in the ranks, under their standards. The Bishop of Autun ascended the altar, dressed in his pontifical costume. Four hundred priests, clad in white robes, and decorated with floating tricoloured girdles, placed themselves at the four corners of the altar. The mass was celebrated to the sound of musical instruments. The Bishop of Autun afterwards blessed the oriflamme and the eighty-three banners. All was then profound silence in the vast inclosure, and Lafayette, who had that day been named Commandant-General of all the National Guards of the kingdom, was the first to advance and take the civic oath. He was borne on the arms of the grenadiers to the altar of the country, and amidst the acclamations of the people, pronounced in a loud voice the following words, in his own name, and in that of the troops and federates:—

‘We swear to be ever faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; to support with our utmost power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the king, and to remain united to all Frenchmen by the indissoluble bonds of fraternity.’

Salvos of artillery were immediately heard, mingled with the clang of arms, the sounds of music, and prolonged shouts of ‘The nation for ever! Long live the King!’ The President of the National Assembly took the same oath, which was repeated by all the Deputies at once. Louis XVI. then rose and said—‘I, the King of the French, swear to employ all the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state,

in maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me.' The queen, carried away by the circumstances of the moment, raised the Dauphin in her arms, and shewing him to the people, exclaimed—' Behold my son ! He unites with me in the expression of the same sentiments.' At the same moment the banners were lowered, the acclamations of the people were heard, the subjects believed in the sincerity of the monarch, the monarch in the attachment of his subjects, and the happy day terminated with a song of thanksgiving."

The author of the bas-relief has selected the moment when Lafayette, dressed in the uniform of the commander-in-chief of the National Guards, ascends the altar of the country, and takes the civic oath. He is represented standing, uncovered, holding in his left hand his sword, which he presses to his heart, and with his right confirming the oath which he takes. The Bishop of Autun, dressed in his sacerdotal garments, and surrounded by the members of the clergy, extends his hands on the Gospel, which is opened at the foot of the cross, and repeats the same oath, which is welcomed by the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, the deputies, and the National Guards, who throng around the altar of their country.



THIRD BAS-RELIEF.

Visit of the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, to the Hotel de Ville. July 31st, 1830*.

“ The Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of France, proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, accompanied by the deputies, and surrounded by no other cortège than some citizens and National Guards. It was a novel and an admirable spectacle to behold an immense population crowded on the quays, from the Carrousel to the Place de Grève, which wore the appearance of a vast amphitheatre. No staff, no gen-

* Moniteur of July 31st, 1830 (official column).

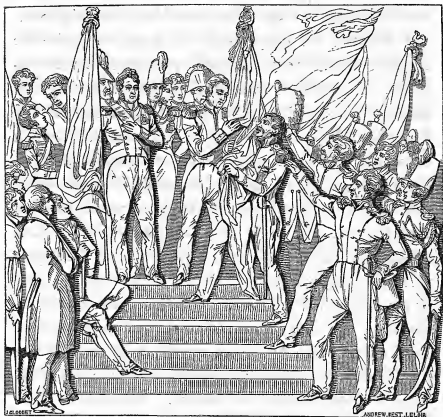
d'armes, were to be seen : the line was formed merely of citizens, and yet perfect order prevailed.

“ General Lafayette, surrounded by the municipal commission, and by the pupils of the Polytechnic School, who, though so young, have acquired such pure and imperishable renown, advanced to meet the prince.

“ Their acquaintance dated from the dawn of our glorious revolution, for which both had fought together. They embraced each other with cordiality, and in the next moment were surrounded and almost stifled in the arms of the military officers, by whom the interior of the Hotel de Ville was thronged. As soon as they reached the large hall, called the *Salle d'Armes*, a circle was formed, and one of the deputies, M. Vignet, delivered a spirited and loyal address. The prince replied in simple language, enumerating all the guarantees which were to be granted to the country ; and when the list was ended, the venerable countenance of Lafayette was seen to expand, his hand approached that of the prince and pressed it with the utmost cordiality. No idea can be formed of the enthusiasm of the populace when the prince approached the window of the Hotel de Ville, and waved the tricoloured flag, the symbol of our glory and of our liberty. As soon as he quitted the scene, the explosion of the public joy was general.”

The bas-relief represents the moment when General Lafayette cordially presses the king's hand ;—the scene passes on the steps of the Hotel de Ville. An officer is seen holding a tricoloured flag over the two principal personages. National Guards, soldiers of the line, combatants of July under arms, wounded individuals,

citizens of Paris, are grouped around the king and Lafayette, and utter the most enthusiastic shouts. A child, mounted on the base of one of the pillars of the Hotel de Ville, waves a national standard.



FOURTH BAS-RELIEF.

Distribution of the Standards to the National Guard of Paris. August 29th, 1830*.

“On the 29th August, 1830, conformably to the order of the day, issued on the previous evening by General Lafayette, the legions of the National Guard of Paris assembled in their respective arrondissements, and after-

* Moniteur of August 30th, 1830.

wards proceeded towards the Champ de Mars, where they took up, in numerical order, the positions which had been assigned to them. At the same time an immense crowd congregated on the same spot from all points of the capital and the environs. Shortly afterwards the slope of the Champ de Mars, the neighbouring avenues, the quays, and the heights opposite the Military School, were occupied by an innumerable multitude. At half-past twelve o'clock, after a discharge of artillery, the king, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Nemours, a brilliant staff, and a numerous cortège of general officers, quitted the Palais Royal, and arrived at the Champ de Mars, preceded and followed by four squadrons of the mounted National Guard. On arriving in front of the Military School his Majesty was received in a tent which had been prepared for him, and near which was a pavilion occupied by the royal family. Near the tent might have been remarked the affecting sight of two detachments of brave citizens who had been wounded in the days of July, and who had now assembled under a standard which commemorated their victory. The acclamations which had all along accompanied the King on his passage, now burst forth afresh from the midst of the legions. In an instant, throughout all the lines, caps and schakos were seen extended on the points of the bayonets, and the air was rent with shouts of 'Long live the King.' The deputations of the battalions then advanced for the distribution of the standards, the commanding officers of the legions and battalions being placed in the centre. The King next made the following speech :—

“ ‘ MY COMRADES,

‘ It is with the highest gratification that I confide to you these standards, and with the most lively satisfaction that I place them in the hands of one, who forty years since was at the head of your fathers in this very enclosure. These colours have marked the dawn of liberty among us, and the sight of them reminds me of my early campaigns. May these standards be the symbols of victory against the enemies of the state; may they prove at home the safeguards of public order and of liberty: may these glorious colours confided to your patriotism and your loyalty prove to the last our rallying signal.

‘ France for ever.’

“ This speech was responded to by shouts of ‘ France for ever! Long live the King!’ General Lafayette holding the four flags for each legion which he had received from the King’s hands, pronounced the formula of the oath, the commanding officers of the legions and battalions replying ‘ I swear it.’ The colonels and the deputations next returned in front of their respective corps, and when all the detachments had arrived and the standards were in the ranks, each colonel received the oath of his legion amidst discharges of artillery, mingled with the acclamations of the National Guards and of the citizens.”

The bas-relief represents the King and Lafayette standing on an estrade. The King on the right, surrounded by the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, and by several superior officers, supports the national standard and receives the oath from the commanding officers of the legions. Lafayette, who is on the left, places in

the hands of a colonel of a legion a standard, which the latter presses with ardour to his bosom. A group of wounded individuals is perceived on the left. This handsome bas-relief is completed by a view of general officers, officers of ordnance grouped around the King and Lafayette, standards unfurled, &c.

Every portion of this beautiful vase, which will remain as a historical monument, is executed with a degree of talent that bespeaks a noble and dignified mind. The French cock, the American eagle, the fruits and flowers of Europe united in garlands with those of the New World, are remarkable amongst the ornaments of the vase and its pedestal. The bas-reliefs are admirably executed and free from confusion and disorder in the subjects which they represent. The composition of the Lafayette vase is pleasing, not only for the elegance, the purity, and the grace of its form, but for the perfect harmony of all its details. The entire appearance of it, which is at once simple and grand, cannot be sufficiently admired, and the conception is as bold and noble as the execution is perfect.

On the 7th of April, 1835, the three commissioners of the subscription, Messrs. Delaborde, de Marmier, and de Schonen, proceeded to the residence of M. George Lafayette, and delivered this monument of the national wishes to the entire assembled family. On this occasion, M. de Schonen, the organ of the committee, spoke as follows :—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In 1830 the National Guards of France, re-organized by General Lafayette, unanimously subscribed

for a monumental vase, and a gold sword to be offered in their name to their illustrious chief. Whilst the artist laboured to produce a work worthy both of the givers and of him who was to receive, death, who waits not, struck his blow. The homage can now be offered only on the tomb ; and for that reason the sword is not united to the other emblems. We now accomplish our painful duty. We confide to your pious and faithful hands this homage of the national gratitude : it will remain there as a memento of the noblest actions and the most heroic sacrifices, and as a holy encouragement to follow so worthy a model.

“ On the occasion of this solemnity, which might have been so happy, it is at least a consolation to us to mingle our grief with yours, and to bear evidence in the name of France, to the sorrow which she has felt for your irreparable loss.”

M. George Lafayette made the following reply :—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ With feelings of the deepest gratitude, we receive the precious deposit which you are pleased to place in our hands :—the members of General Lafayette’s family thank you for having judged them worthy of so noble an inheritance. The proudest recollections, Gentlemen, will ever be attached to this pledge of the esteem and affection of the National Guards of July, 1830, for their Commandant-General, and our gratitude to that mass of good citizens whom you here represent, will become the patrimony of our remotest descendants.

“ Permit me, Gentlemen, to hope that you will accept those personal thanks, which, but for the cruel

calamity inflicted on us, would have been addressed to you by another than myself. That other I cannot replace, but I thank you for having loved him; I thank you for uniting your tears with ours in lamenting his loss, and I trust you will believe that if my father's principles were not also mine—if I were not sure of being always faithful to his memory,—I would not accept the honour which you now confer on me.”

These speeches were frequently interrupted by the emotion of those who pronounced them, and of those to whom they were addressed. Some days after this touching scene, which it is impossible to describe, and during which the commissioners so worthily accomplished their mission, and so nobly expressed the painful homage rendered by the subscribers to the memory of Lafayette, the vase was again confided to the care of its author, and exposed for about six weeks to the inspection of the public. Distinguished individuals of all classes, men of the highest rank, amateurs and strangers, thronged to the exhibition rooms of the artist to admire his master-piece. Towards the end of May the vase was transported to the château of Lagrange, and solemnly installed in the General's library.

Most undoubtedly at the sight of so noble a work, it is allowable to form an ardent desire for the public encouragement of the art of the French goldsmith. Every description of industry does honour to a country, but that whose development promotes a country's glory or fortune,—that in which art is thus enhanced by splendid talents, ought to be more dear and more important in our eyes; and if ever an artist deserved en-

couragement, that artist is assuredly the author of the Lafayette vase. I have had frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with him, and his history is sufficiently curious to add still further to the interest inspired by his works. After having for some time worked for others, M. Jaques Henri Fauconnier—who may be termed the son of his own works—when he first became known for the splendid execution of the articles which issued from his hands, had long worked on his own account, not merely with a view to pecuniary interest, but also to advance his profession, and to promote a return to art and taste, which had for a moment been neglected by his French brother artists. In spite of his successes, and though he possesses in an eminent degree the sentiment of his art, M. Fauconnier, whose modesty is equal to his skill, has made but few efforts out of the line of his profession to interest public opinion. He never possessed the talent of bringing himself forward. Surnamed by his acquaintances the madman goldsmith, (*le fou de l'orfèvrerie*), he is really the Benevenuto Cellini of his art, and has more than one feature of resemblance to that illustrious man. His progress in his profession has been long attested by works which, at all the national exhibitions, and especially in 1819 and 1834, obtained for him the gold medal, the first prize of his art. Previously to the revolution of July, he possessed an establishment which he had himself created, raised, and built, and in which he had embarked his own property, that of his wife, and the laborious savings of his life. His establishment was on an extraordinary scale, for it was his wish to realize the fixed idea, the dream of an artist's life—

the creation of a genuine national school for the goldsmith's art. An exhibition room for carved work, another for sculpture, studying rooms for the different branches of drawing, skilful workmen, special pupils, all were found united in his establishment; but he was more of an artist than a mercantile man, and therefore, although his manufactory was always crowded by people of fashion, it naturally happened that his financial prosperity by no means followed the same ascending progression as the public esteem for his works. He met with reverses of fortune and innumerable humiliations, and after a succession of losses, which he was unable to repair, he was brutally expelled from his establishment in February, 1832, and all that he possessed was seized and sold. The Lafayette vase, which was then far from being finished, ran the risk of remaining unexecuted, but, fortunately for the country, the commissioners of the national subscription had the good sense to leave the work in M. Fauconnier's hands, the patience to wait till he was released from his embarrassments, and the noble generosity to assist him with their own funds. The names of Messrs. de Schonen, Marmier, and Alexander Delaborde again figured on a private subscription list, set on foot to buy up the implements and stock of M. Fauconnier's establishment, which had been sold by auction to satisfy a set of pitiless creditors. Two honourable bankers, Messrs. Mallet, brothers, also subscribed, generously undertook the task of collecting the funds, and charged themselves with other administrative details. The Baron de Montmorency upheld our artist with his purse and with his influence, and put himself at the head of a new subscription. The king's

sister, Madame Adelaide, whose heart is ever ready to compassionate, and whose hand is ever open to relieve every species of misfortune, generously assisted Fauconnier with one of her houses *, where he was enabled to collect the wreck of his former establishment. Full of gratitude towards his benefactors, whose generosity he takes a delight in proclaiming, the artist has at length been enabled to re-organize his establishment, which is now furnished with a considerable stock, and with a rich collection of models, remarkable for their good taste and for the elegance of their execution. With all the ardour of a genuine artist, M. Fauconnier, one day, acquainted me with the misfortunes of his life, his tribulations, and his contests with his creditors. His countenance glowed with animation, his eyes were lighted up by that peculiar expression, which denotes at once the indignation and the strength of mind requisite to brave the obstacles opposed to genius. "Aye," cried he, speaking of his creditors—"had they succeeded in throwing me into prison, the iron bars of my cell would not have prevented me from following my art under their very nose."

Lafayette belonged to that class of illustrious men who do honour to human nature, and his death is an irreparable loss to the world at large. He set himself and his private affections completely aside, and looked upon the human race from those elevated regions to which he had been exalted by his intelligence and his virtues. Few understood him, and the majority judged of him incorrectly. Many were unjust to him, being led away by their prejudices and their political feelings ;

* In the Rue de Babylone, No. 16.

for it is the common evil of political and religious opinions to excite the most bitter and violent passions, and thus to stifle reason and every sentiment of justice in their partizans, who visit with the same degree of reprobation the public and the private individual in the man whose principles are contrary to their own. Perhaps at the very moment whilst I write these lines, Lafayette's virtues are better appreciated by strangers (and especially by your countrymen, who have lately paid so affecting a tribute to his memory) than by his own fellow citizens. The French are undoubtedly full of soul and generosity; they love the grand and the sublime as ardently as any other people, and when the opportunity is offered, they are ever ready to serve as examples. Their levity, however, must be admitted; their enthusiasm is extinguished as soon as kindled, and their forgetfulness of the past, occasioned by a continual desire of anticipating the future, might be mistaken for ingratitude. Incessantly urged by their ardent imaginations, they chiefly esteem what is removed from them, both in time and space; their feelings almost always transport them beyond the sphere of surrounding objects, to search for new objects of admiration: they disdain the treasures in their possession, because too near them. It must at the same time be admitted to their credit, that for the last half century, their reason has made great progress; their minds have gained in solidity what they have probably lost in grace and brilliancy; their poetry is daily changed for plain prose, and their judgement begins to guide, instead of being misled by their imagination. Society in France has become more serious and more sensible. The spectacle

of the abuses of former governments; the crimes and the misfortunes which accompanied and followed our first revolution; our dearly purchased experience of a number of political systems, and our conviction of their errors; the emptiness of our military glory demonstrated by a series of appalling disasters, and humbled by a late reverse, which still covers France with mourning, and inflicts upon her the loss of a portion of her territory; the successive destruction of the dynasties by which we have been misgoverned;—all these circumstances account for the change which has taken place in the minds of the French, and explain the undoubted progress made by their reason and their political education; their predilection for the arts and sciences, and for the pursuits of industry, agriculture, and commerce, which ensure their real independence; their sincere attachment to the constitutional government, the only form compatible with the safety of the rulers, and with the liberty, the interests, and the happiness of the people.

Speaking of the influence of the revolution upon the general condition of France, Lafayette expressed himself as follows, in a speech which he delivered in 1819, in the Chamber of Deputies:—"The Constituent Assembly found it impossible to give birth to any reforms without changing everything. If the re-constructions were imperfect, the general principles were undoubtedly salutary, whatever may be said to the contrary; for in spite of all that was afterwards lost by anarchy, terrorism, the *maximum*, bankruptcy, and civil war,—in spite of a terrible struggle sustained against the whole of Europe, it is incontestably true, that agriculture, in-

dustry, the public instruction of France, the circumstances and the independence of three-fourths of her population, and I will add the public morals, have been improved to a degree of which no example can be found in any period of history, or in any part of the old world."

The prodigious influence which Lafayette exercised upon genuine civilization will one day be acknowledged; a day will come when the French will know him better, when they will regret their injustice to him during his life, and when statues will be erected in his honour. He will in that respect have shared the destiny of most great men,—a destiny written in the eternal circle which circumscribes human events. France and America will one day unite to do honour to the memory of a man of whom they will mutually be proud, the one as the land of his birth, and the other as the country of his adoption. Lafayette wants but a historian; but his virtues will assuredly yet find an echo in the heart of a man of talent capable of proclaiming them to the world. Such a writer will unquestionably be found, inspired by the genius of Plutarch, by the love of virtue, and by the desire of raising an altar to do her homage. His admiration will stand in no need of being awakened by the ambition of academic fame: a nobler sentiment than the mere thirst of literary notoriety will warm his soul, and give to Lafayette an historian worthy of his actions.

I ardently hope, my dear Sir, that in the information which I have given on the subject of Lafayette, you may find a proof of my good will to satisfy the desire you have expressed. For myself, in paying a

debt of gratitude to his memory, I esteem myself happy to have found an opportunity of cultivating a more intimate feeling of esteem and friendship for yourself, and I beg that you will now accept my sincere assurance of both.

JULES CLOQUET.

P. S.—Further on you will find a letter, which Madame Lafayette wrote from the prisons of Olmütz to Dr. Bollman, and which I found in Masclet's correspondence. Had I been sooner acquainted with the existence of this document, I would have placed it immediately after the confidential letter of General Latour-Maubourg.

LETTER FROM MADAME LAFAYETTE TO DR. BOLLMAN.

“Olmütz, May 22d, 1796.

“I am at last enabled to write to you, and to express to you all the sentiments with which we are so deeply affected. The first wish of my heart is to assure you of our gratitude. I am likewise eager to express my regret for having been unable to address you sooner. In the prisons of Paris I had been informed of your generous undertaking, and I was aware that you and M. Huger were in custody; but we had been, and were still in France, exposed to such tyrannical oppression—such efforts were made to annihilate the recollection of one whose principles and whose example brought to mind the duty of resistance to that oppression, and terror had so completely paralysed every heart, that it was impossible, especially in my personal position, to obtain

many details respecting M. Lafayette and yourself. Besides, I was myself overwhelmed by the most appalling calamities that can be inflicted on the heart of a daughter and a sister, and I felt the necessity of coming to this place, in order to regain a portion of my faculties, and to recover my strength.

“ I at length obtained a passport for the United States, and an American vessel conveyed me to Hamburgh, whence I ought to have written to you ; but as I had received in that city only an imperfect account of all that referred to you ; as I was, moreover, persuaded by what I heard at Vienna, that I could easily correspond from this place, and as I confess that myself and my daughters were completely taken up with the idea of arriving here, we thought that the expression of our sensibility would be more agreeable to you in the name of all four ; and you may easily imagine, that from the first moment of our meeting, we had to satisfy the eager impatience of M. Lafayette to hear of you. From him we learned, with intense interest and admiration, all the circumstances which we had previously known but in part. We were informed of all that you had done in Russia ; we were aware of the time, the efforts, and the address which it must have cost you at Olmütz to correspond with him ; we were apprised of your courageous attempt, but we were ignorant of the generosity with which you adopted Lafayette’s idea, and the zeal with which you facilitated his flight, when every mode of serving him at Vienna was exhausted. It is impossible for me to describe to you how much we were affected by all the details of that day, on which

you and M. Huger displayed such intrepidity, such delicacy, such indifference to your own personal safety, and such undivided devotion to the idea of saving the man who spoke to us of your efforts with such well-merited enthusiasm. He would fain himself explain to you how—after stopping on the road, in spite of what you had told him, to see you on horseback—obliged afterwards to walk, because the blood and filth with which he was covered attracted attention;—having stopped again, and even, in his uneasiness for both of you, having for a moment retraced his steps, he was forced to return to Sternberg;—and how, having reason to believe that you had proceeded across the fields, he endeavoured to overtake you before your arrival in that place, although he suffered severely from his first fall;—how, in a word, being unacquainted with the name of Hoff, and not knowing the direct road to Silesia by which he had arrived in a carriage, and being unable to ask many questions without exciting observation, especially on account of the singularity of his appearance,—he was in the end arrested. He then, at least, had the momentary consolation of believing that you had both escaped; for it was only at Olmütz that he heard of M. Huger's arrest, and he was not certain even of yours till he underwent the interrogatory, to which, through consideration for both of you, he consented to reply; and in the course of which, having refused to speak on the secret correspondence, it was found necessary to prove to him that the surgeon and yourself had disclosed every thing. I shall make no effort to describe to you his feelings during your horrible captivity.

Though we found him recovered, especially since he had been informed of your deliverance, it was but too evident how much his heart had suffered from the moral tortures so basely inflicted on him—tortures which even to me, who had been in France the witness and the victim of the most atrocious and tyrannical anarchy, appeared the most cruel refinement of barbarity that hatred could contrive,

“Your feeling heart, Sir, will judge of the effect produced on us in this desolate situation of Lafayette, by the moment of our union, by the consolations which we were enabled to afford him, and at the same time by the sad news of which it was my lot to inform him; for never was a common sentiment of suffering more just or better felt. I also refrain from speaking of his situation previously to our arrival, or of that which we at present share with him: my former letter to our friends will inform you of both, and also of our apprehensions for his health and that of his companions. But how can I avoid dwelling on the deep feeling of gratitude with which we acknowledge ourselves indebted to you for the assistance of those generous and zealous friends who, during an entire year, watched the moment for transmitting a few lines into this tomb, and who, since my arrival, have formed an indispensable link between us and the rest of the world! Why cannot I express to you all our obligations to them! You are probably acquainted with all of them; with the individual who conducted a delicate affair at Vienna; with him who undertook a long and painful journey, but one in every respect essential to our interests; with those

who, remaining still nearer to us, watch over our well-being ; and above all, with the friend towards whom our inexpressible obligations are daily augmented ; who has so many just claims to our confidence, and whom we cherish with the cordial and entire affection of our hearts.

“ It would have been gratifying to us to have profited sooner by this opportunity of writing to you, but our friend's first note informed us that you had already passed the ocean, and that, to thank you for the many great services which you have rendered us in Europe, we must wait till you have placed us under fresh obligations in America. We are assured that you will be in London in the month of June, and as our confidence in you is, like your interest for us, unlimited, I shall communicate to you our ideas on the subject, with which you are so zealously and so unremittingly occupied. Our friends absolutely require that M. Lafayette's writing shall not go abroad, but you will be gratified to learn that my letter has at least the advantage of being written near him, and of being the faithful expression of all his feelings.

“ You are so well acquainted with the circumstances which preceded, accompanied, and followed the arrest of M. Lafayette and his two friends ; you have so actively participated in all the steps taken on their behalf ; you were so well aware of the best mode of serving them in every country ; and we already owe so much to your courage, your intelligence, and your generous devotion, that it might seem more appropriate to speak to you only of our gratitude. Should you be at a loss for any details of what took place from the

month of August, 1792, to the undertaking of the 8th of November, and from the period of your deliverance to the present moment, you will find the former information in M. Lafayette's private correspondence with Madame d'Henin, in some letters to myself, which M. Masson was to send to London, one of March 27, 1793, to M. d'Archenholtz, and one of July 4, to M. Pinkney. The other information you may obtain from my letters to M. Pinkney, to Madame d'Henin, to General Fitzpatrick, to M. Lafayette's aides-de-camp, and from a copy of my ministerial correspondence, taken by my daughter. You will also find some details in M. de Maubourg's private letters. Here, however, I will repeat to you, what it is no doubt superfluous to mention, but what your inexhaustible friendship will not be weary of hearing. Lafayette's detention is evidently a measure entered into in common by the powers either openly or secretly allied against France, or rather against liberty. It is said to have been agreed on in a coalitionary council, that his existence was dangerous to the repose of the governments of Europe. As long as those governments transferred from one to the other his person, and those of his friends, or the applications urged in their behalf, it was more difficult to form a plan; but at present most of them have become the friends, or at least the humble servants of France. The pretenders of the Bourbon family are now regarded as mere objects of charity; and though the emperor, in permitting my presence here, told me that Lafayette's affair was extremely complicated; though M. Thugut, in speaking of him, frequently mentioned the word "*importance*",—it is quite certain

that, notwithstanding the hatred of all the other governments, the cabinets of Vienna and London are the only ones that can persecute us here. You know that the Court of Vienna, in addition to its hereditary aversion for every species of liberty, has a particular antipathy to Lafayette, and that to all the known motives for that dislike may be added the secret impressions that have been constantly given by the late queen, or on her behalf. The conduct observed towards the three prisoners, towards you and ourselves, does not depend on the disposition of that Court, but the malevolent action appears concentrated in the internal cabinet; and I might hope for some advantages, were not that party itself, as the letters from Vienna state, in the servile dependence of England. In that quarter is Lafayette's principal enemy to be found: Pitt and he have long formed a judgment of each other; and that minister, who is no less perverse in his means of execution than in his views, has every kind of superiority over the governments under his direction. But to consider the two Courts apart, you are better acquainted than I am with the means which lead to a determination in the Court of Vienna. Such means are not those used by society, which, however, ought not to be neglected, (and amongst which I shall rank those of my friends, Mesdames de Windeshgratz and d'Ursel, and the good Prince de Rosenberg,) nor those of such ministers as are without influence, such as M. Cobenzel, who has not ventured to see me, although his cousin, who has a numerous list of acquaintances, and amongst people belonging to every party, has been extremely obliging to me. You, as well as we, can conceive that the justice of the ap-

plications from America, the testimonies of friendship which we receive from other countries, and the reproaches publicly made to our jailors, must be of great advantage. The denunciations made by the opposition party in England also produce much effect on these Courts, which perceive among that opposition the members of a future ministry. The Danish minister is said to be well-disposed towards us, and you have seen American addresses, the bare publication of which would be in every respect of the greatest advantage; but we think, with you, that no success is to be obtained at Vienna, except by means of intrigue and money. Some advances have already been made, and there has been a question, tolerably à propos, of 120,000 francs, for which my fortune is answerable; and as the only safeguard to be found here lies in the diplomatic character, we have thrown out the idea of obtaining a slight Danish commission for a friend, who might come to urge this negociation in concert with those who have had the courage to try it.

“ I know not what instructions you may have brought from the United States, but it is very certain that the presence of an American envoy, besides the advantage of the step itself, would have that of furnishing an opportunity, a pretext, a sort of protection for all the measures which might be secretly adopted in our favour. It is true that England considered either as a power or as a banker would always be the stronger, and to force her to relax her hold, she must be pressed at home. There at least public opinion is of some weight, and as our object should be not to caress or persuade Mr. Pitt, but to make him feel more personal inconvenience from

Lafayette's detention than from his liberation, no means must be neglected of exciting public opinion against him in that respect. There can be no doubt that the extent and the nature of the trade between England and the United States and the intimate connexion existing between the American merchants and their associates in London and other cities, present great facilities for effecting the object to be gained. I speak of this matter with the more confidence, as amongst all the private individuals whom I have seen, I have ever found a sincere desire to do, to sign, and even to pay all for the benefit of their fellow citizen. As to the official applications, you are probably the bearer of something precise, and though Lafayette persists in demanding that no description of interest should be sacrificed to his own, he thinks it due to the dignity of the United States, that all applications made in their name should be firm, simple, clear, (even should failure be the consequence,) and indisputable on the score of equity and justice. I will add that if American influence at Vienna is limited to the courteous consideration which two countries at peace owe to each other, such is not the case with regard to England, to whom the situation, commerce, and policy of the United States are of too much importance to admit of the supposition that the British cabinet is not interested in treating them with consideration. The faults committed in this way by the English ministry are properly taken up by the patriots in England, and we must here repeat what Lafayette has incessantly observed, that manifestations of kindly feeling from the friends of liberty in every country, can teach nothing to our enemies which they do not already

know, and that such manifestations from the Opposition have always appeared not only extremely flattering and valuable to himself, but advantageous to his interests. In his opinion the only precaution to be taken should be to communicate to his defenders such papers and information as may prevent involuntary inaccuracies, or even well-meant alterations of his position. Permit us also to repeat that, Lafayette, with a feeling of the tenderest gratitude towards his friends, merely requires from them in the name of their very friendship, that they will never speak of him except in a manner strictly conformable to the principles and sentiments which have so constantly inspired every thought, word, and action of his whole life; but whilst just complaints may everywhere be made, that in the deliverance of all the prisoners of the revolution, Lafayette and his two friends were alone excepted, it must be admitted that the case is calculated to occasion scandal, rather than surprise. M * * * * for instance, was one of the principal Jacobins, only after their creation, six months after the 11th July, 1789, till the 21st June, 1791, and he then became the principal confidant of the secret correspondence between the court of Vienna and the Tuileries: his detention astonishes me, and not his liberation. Lafayette, who is more than a stranger to these two means, and who as well as Messrs. de Maubourg and Pusy, has always been hated by the Jacobins and both courts, was unable to make any application except to the friends of liberty, who were oppressed everywhere. I am also greatly astonished that the Convention, having the advantage of their cannon, the only thing held respectable by such people, should have

so long delayed enforcing the restoration of an ambassador, seized in a neutral state, of a military general, sold by Dumouriez, and of deputies who became victims to the same treacherous conduct. You will say, that amongst those deputies were two or three of the king's murderers; but had they been, I will not say Danton, for he belonged to those courts, but even Robespierre and Marat, what are the crimes of such men, when contrasted with a life devoted to the vindication and defence of the rights of humanity in every country—when counterbalanced by the declaration of rights, by the duty of resistance to oppression, by that institution of the National Guards, so formidable whether imitated or not imitated, and by so many efforts to place liberty and equality under the safeguard of legal order? All that Lafayette has effected for justice and humanity, for the national sovereignty and the constituted authorities, are so many additional wrongs towards those who desire to see France disorganized, the cause of the people sullied, and liberty set at nought. The situation of Messrs. de Maubourg and Pusy has not given them so many opportunities of exciting hatred; but setting aside the fact, that their tender and generous friendship demands that their cause shall not be for an instant separated from us, they no doubt are also detested, since they have always endeavoured to establish that virtuous liberty which confers happiness on a nation, and sets a lofty example to neighbouring states.

“It is not from our friends who are not likely to be discouraged, that we should dissemble obstacles and dangers; it is not by voluntarily closing their eyes, that they can prevent our enemies from seeing, nor by

entering into the combinations of honourable minds, that they can guess the purpose of unfriendly governments. It is not necessary to tell you, that if Lafayette were not to be liberated before the peace, or at least in accordance with those preliminaries which are executed before the conclusion, there is no species of chicanery, pretext, or even fatal resolution which may not be apprehended from those faithless governments! When I see, on the one hand, our reasonings and our hopes so often deceived, on the other hand, so many examples of the iniquitous conduct to which I have alluded; when I think that many of our means will be less influential upon peace in this country, and that the probable events of Europe may become fresh motives for our further detention; I no longer foresee any thing certain, except the continuation of an inveterate hatred, the apprehensions of tyranny, and the facility of acting upon them. These alarms will not appear imaginary to you, Sir, who have taken so much pains, in different countries and with different parties, to make yourself acquainted with Lafayette's real situation. You will not be tranquillized by a recent and secret information, of the truth of which you can entertain no doubt, and which proves to you that in a place where there was no question of phrases without meaning, M. Thugut, the prime minister, and wholly devoted to Pitt, no later than a fortnight ago, represented Lafayette as dangerous to the public tranquillity of Europe—an expression that must be referred, not to the war which now exists, but to the liberty which is now dreaded, and that recalls, almost word for word, your interesting conversation with M. Luchesini, which

was held nearly four years ago in the council of the coalesced parties, and which was recently disclosed by an act of indiscretion on the part of the Baron de Breteuil, who was present. This is not a reason for stifling the interests of the friends of liberty, which would occasion the loss of means no less honourable than advantageous, without the slightest benefit, but it is a powerful reason why no measure should be delayed, no expense spared, in order that should negotiations take place, our release may precede the definitive conclusion of a treaty of peace.

“ Our friends, I trust, as well as ourselves, are of opinion that, whilst every method is energetically put into practice in London to oblige the government, and especially Pitt, to retreat, and whilst all official and secret means are actively employed at Vienna; it is also expedient that should the belligerent powers order a meeting of their envoys in any particular place, an individual should be there, on whom the utmost dependence can be placed, and who may be authorized in the name of the United States, to demand Lafayette in a firm tone, and to decide upon a preliminary article; after which nothing else will remain to be done than to proceed hither without delay, and urge its speedy execution. But we implore the Americans to recollect that Messrs. de Maubourg and de Pusy form but one with ourselves, that the announcement of their intention during an imprisonment of four years, suffered for the cause of liberty, to become citizens of the United States on their release, already confers upon them the rights of such citizenship; and that the formal addition of our two friends, which may then

be easily obtained, is nevertheless an indispensable precaution that must be taken to render our deliverance complete. You will ask me, as having lately quitted Paris, what, in a congress of peace, the deputies of the two republics would do for us? If the deputy of Holland is a sincere patriot, he must for the last ten years have had relations with Lafayette, either through himself or through his friends, and you might become acquainted with him through M. Adams, or at Hambourg through M. Aberna. With regard to France, which is a more delicate subject, I proceed to say a few words to you in confidence.

It is unquestionable that with the exception of the Aristocrats and the Disorganizers, Lafayette had the entire nation in his favour, and the little which that immense majority effected to assist him and to prevent so many evils, is but too well explained by what the nation has since suffered collectively and in detail. That, however, necessarily produced comparisons and recollections, and certain calculations as to how much less the same successes abroad might have cost, but it will not promote our deliverance,—1st, because the citizens, who are still disturbed by the recollection of that cruel period of inquisition and tyranny, dare not express their thoughts, and because, although our principal adversaries have joined the enemy or put an end to each other, there are still men in existence who are interested in setting aside all that may attract attention to their past crimes, and to the real source of calamity; 2dly, because Lafayette, though not obstinately attached to the secondary combinations of governments, (that which he was bound to maintain having been no

longer conformable to his inclinations,) though far removed from all these intrigues, of which liberty is not the sole object, and though more independent than ever, in consequence of his resolution to proceed to America, will never consent that his friends in France, (and there are few whom he will empower to act for him,) should hazard a single word in his name, or even in his behalf, that might in the slightest degree compromise those lofty principles of liberty and justice which he has ever defended; that might omit to mark the proper place of such as have violated those principles, and of such as have died for them; or that might give the name of error to a well-advised fidelity to those eternal rights of humanity, the declaration of which was, in the revolution, one of his first services, and his inflexibility respecting which appears to him a duty, not only to himself, but to France.

“ You will judge, from what precedes, that we can count only upon a general article for the deliverance of all the prisoners; there are, however, many whose intentions towards us are excellent, and who are as well known to Lafayette’s aides-de-camp as to myself. If, for instance, matters should pass through M. Barthelmy’s hands, I must own, that in addition to our opinion in his favour, which is of long standing, we have had recent assurances of his disposition to befriend us as far as lies in his power. You are perhaps already aware that M. de Pusy’s mother-in-law has married M. Dupont, one of our oldest friends, and that we have a brother-in-law in France, M. de Grammont, who possesses our unlimited confidence in every particular.

“ We await with much impatience the details of your

voyage to America. We also ask you for news of my son, from whom we have not heard since the month of August, and who, I hope, has had the happiness of embracing you, and also M. Huger, to whom I dare not write, any more than to my son, being anxious to avoid exposing the secrets and the destiny of our friends to the accidents of so long a journey.

“ You would render us a vast additional service if you could transmit to the excellent and generous M. Huger the expression of our gratitude, admiration, and regard, and the assurance of the feelings with which Lafayette is inspired by the idea of owing the highest possible obligation to the son of the first man who received him, and of the first friend whom he possessed in America. Will you have the kindness to undertake to speak to M. Pinckney of our grateful attachment to him, and also of our confidence, and to say a thousand kind things to our charming friend, Mrs. Church? We are too well assured of her husband’s friendship not to feel assured that he too is wholly occupied with our affairs.

“ Adieu, Sir; when shall we be able to speak to you in person of the feelings which we so justly entertain towards you, and of which our hearts must for ever be so deeply sensible?

“ NOAILLES LAFAYETTE.

“ We are aware of the interest which your brother has taken in our affairs during your absence, and we beg of you to assure him how sensible we are of his kindness.”

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